

**LISZT AS KAPELLMEISTER: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
SYMPHONIC POEMS ON THE WEIMAR STAGE**

by

JOANNE CORMAC

A thesis submitted to the
University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

**Music Department
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
September 2012**

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

Little research has been carried out into Liszt's work as Kapellmeister of the Weimar Court Theatre. The nature and extent of his duties, his involvement in productions, festivals and performances, and his relationships with others within the administration has yet to be examined in detail, let alone the implications of all of this for his music. This thesis draws on a wealth of primary source material to provide new insight into this area. It begins by drawing a general picture of Liszt's work in Weimar. Then, it attempts a detailed 're-historicisation' of four of Liszt's Weimar symphonic poems.

The thesis returns four of the symphonic poems (*Tasso*, *Orpheus*, *Festklänge*, and *Hamlet*) to their original dramatic performance contexts. In doing so, it reveals that the Weimar productions or festivals in which they were premiered had a significant impact on their conception and development in numerous, diverse, and sometimes surprising ways. Accordingly, the findings shed new light on the influence of staged genres, particularly melodrama, on the development of the symphonic poem as a genre. Then the thesis explores the revision of these works in order to trace Liszt's changing conception of what a symphonic poem might be.

For Rory

Acknowledgements

Throughout the last three years of researching and writing this thesis, I have been grateful for the input, advice and support of a number of people and institutions (though any mistakes are mine alone). Firstly, I would like to thank the AHRC for funding this project and the University of Birmingham for providing me with further generous grants for research training and conference attendance. Thanks must also go to the various archives that allowed me access to their holdings: the Goethe and Schiller Archive, the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, the Franz Liszt School of Music, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, and the Franz Liszt Museum in Budapest. In particular, I would like to thank Frau Fiebig and Frau Wagner at the Goethe and Schiller Archive for their help. And I would also like to thank Dr Monika Hennemann for helping me when I was just starting to learn German. Thanks also to the various academics I have met at conferences around the world for their input and to my parents for their support financial and otherwise.

But there are a couple of people without whom I could not have completed this thesis. First of all, I have been extremely fortunate in having such a supportive supervisor: Professor Kenneth Hamilton. Thank you for interpreting the role of supervisor in such a generous manner, for your encyclopaedic knowledge of 19th-century music, and for your enthusiasm and great sense of humour that made the project as a whole so enjoyable.

And final thanks have to go to my husband, who has patiently put up with having Liszt as a main topic of conversation for three years (and, incidentally, who could now also write a thesis himself on the topic). Thanks for your constant advice and support and for reading all of my drafts.

Joanne Cormac

September 2012

Contents

Introduction	p. 1
Chapter One: Liszt as Kapellmeister	p. 31
<i>Part One: The Weimar Theatre Management: Personalities and Politics</i>	p. 33
<i>Part Two: The Kapellmeister ‘in Extraordinary’</i>	p. 58
Chapter Two: Poetry and Drama in <i>Tasso</i>	p. 110
Chapter Three: <i>Orpheus</i>: the Opera Liszt Never Wrote	p. 197
Chapter Four: <i>Festklänge</i> and Weimar’s Festival Culture	p. 262
Chapter Five: <i>Hamlet</i>: The Symphonic Poem as Melodrama	p. 336
Conclusions	p. 436
Appendix A	p. 450
Bibliography	p. 478

List of Figures, Tables, and Transcriptions

Introduction

Figure 1: Playbill of Liszt's First Public Concert in Weimar: 29 November 1841 p. 4

Chapter One: Liszt as Kapellmeister

Figure 1: The Main Artistic Positions in the Weimar Court Theatre p. 35

Figure 2: Timeline of Weimar Intendants p. 36

Figure 3: Playbill for Liszt's Concert in Weimar: 22 February 1846 p. 55

Figure 4: Playbill for the Schiller Celebration of 12 November 1856 p. 81

Figure 5: Playbill for *Die Erzählungen der Königin von Navarra*, 2 February 1851 p. 83

Table 1: Liszt Works originally associated with Weimar Festivals/Productions p. 104

Chapter Two: Poetry and Drama in *Tasso*

Figure 1: Programme of the 1848 Goethe Celebration in Weimar p. 129

Figure 2: the Playbill from the 1848 *Torquato Tasso* Production p. 155

Table 1: the Existing *Tasso* Manuscripts p. 112

Table 2: the Formal Structure of Hs 107016 p. 180

Table 3: Existing Analyses of *Tasso* p. 191

Table 4: *Tasso* as a Rotational/Sonata Form Hybrid p. 194

Transcription 1: Hs 107016, Adagio p. 135

Transcription 2: Hs 107016, Syncopated Stretto p. 150

Transcription 3: from Letter 184 from Liszt to Hans von Bülow p. 164

Transcription 4: Hs 107016, Recapitulation and transition p. 168

Transcription 5: GSA 60/A 2b p. 184

Chapter Three: *Orpheus*: the Opera Liszt Never Wrote

Figure 1: Playbill of the 1854 *Orpheus* Production p. 199

Transcription 1: Draft of Ex. 2 from Liszt, <i>Orpheus</i> (GSA 60/A4)	p. 208
Transcription 2: Version 1 of the string parts bb. 132-44	p. 223
Transcription 3: Version 2 of the String Parts, bb. 132-40	p. 225
Transcription 4: Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4), bb. 186-203	p. 227
Transcription 5: the Opening of the Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4)	p. 234
Transcription 6: Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4), bb. 72-76	p. 238
Transcription 7: the Ending of the Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4)	p. 242
Transcription 8: First Draft of the ‘Orpheus’ Theme	p. 246
Transcription 9: Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4), bb. 15-27	p. 247
Transcription 10: Draft of Main <i>Orpheus</i> Theme from <i>Festklänge</i> Score (GSA 60/A7d)	p. 251
Transcription 11: Short Score, bb. 137-143	p. 253
Chapter Four: <i>Festklänge</i> and Weimar’s Festival Culture	
Figure 1: Playbill from the Premiere of <i>Festklänge</i>	p. 272
Table 1: Existing Analyses of <i>Festklänge</i>	p. 300
Table 2: Structure of the Overture	p. 324
Transcription 1: <i>Festklänge</i> Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d), bb. 1-4	p. 279
Transcription 2: <i>Festklänge</i> Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d), ‘Andante’	p. 305
Transcription 3: <i>Festklänge</i> , Second Draft (GSA 60/A7a), <i>Andante Sostenuto</i>	p. 309
Transcription 4: <i>Festklänge</i> Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d)—Fanfare Fragment dividing the second subject material	p. 318
Transcription 5: <i>Festklänge</i> Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d) —Fanfare Fragment in the Recapitulation	p. 322

Transcription 6: Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d)	
—Fanfare before recapitulation of ‘Polonaise theme’	p. 323
Transcription 7: <i>Festklänge</i> , Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d)	
—the Original Ending	p. 326
Chapter Five: <i>Hamlet</i>: The Symphonic Poem as Melodrama	
Figure 1: Playbill from the Weimar production of <i>Hamlet</i> 9 January 1856	p. 353
Table 1: Existing Analyses of <i>Hamlet</i>	p. 403
Table 2: <i>Hamlet</i> as a Rotational Form	p. 412
Transcription 1: Liszt, ‘Parzenlied’ from <i>Vor hundert Jahren</i> (GSA 60/ G3a)	p. 376
Transcription 2: The original middle section from GSA 60/A 10a	p. 418
Transcription 3: The inserted ‘Ophelia section’	p. 425

Abbreviations

The Liszt Sketchbooks¹

Archive No.	Title	Dates of Use
WRgs MS N6	Revolutionary Symphony Sketchbook	1829-1834
N8	Lichnowsky Sketchbook	1842-1845
N1	<i>Ce qu'on entend</i> Sketchbook	c. 1845-?
N5	<i>Tasso</i> Sketchbook	1845-1849?
N4	<i>Sardanapale</i> Sketchbook	1846-1860s
N7	Hugo Songs Sketchbook	1847
N9	<i>Harmonies poétiques</i> Sketchbook	1847
N3	<i>Prometheus</i> Sketchbook	1849/50-?
N2	<i>Mazeppa</i> Sketchbook	1851-1866

¹ Adapted from Rena Mueller, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Chronology', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 28, 1/4 (1986), 273-293 at 273.

The *Tasso* Manuscripts

N1	Brief thematic outline
N5	Liszt's first complete sketch, dated August 1847. (2-4 staves with orchestration indications)
Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv (GSA) 60/B22c	Conradi's first copy (in his own sketchbook). A copy of Liszt's sketch with orchestration indications realised.
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg - Hs 107016	Conradi's second copy. The score used at the premiere. It incorporates Liszt's annotations to the previous copy.
GSA 60/A2b	Raff's first copy. Includes Liszt's annotations to Conradi's second copy as well as Raff's own orchestration ideas. It was made between 1850 and '51.
GSA 60/A2c	Liszt's corrections sheets relating to Raff's copy.
GSA 60/A2a	Raff's second copy. This was probably performed at the Court Concert in Weimar on 19 April 1854, when <i>Tasso</i> was first advertised as a 'Symphonic Poem'.

The *Orpheus* Manuscripts

GSA 60/A4	The only complete extant score. It includes a page from an early short score. Both scores are in Liszt's hand.
GSA 60/A7d	<i>Festklänge</i> score also in Liszt's hand. It contains a sketch of thematic material from <i>Orpheus</i> .
GSA 60/A4a	Closing music composed by Liszt for the 1854 <i>Orphée</i> production. It was assembled by Peter Raabe from orchestral parts used at the performance.

The *Festklänge* Manuscripts

GSA 60/A7d	The earliest extant score in Liszt's hand. It is written on 2-4 staves with orchestral cues and dates from August 1853.
GSA 60/A7a	Next complete extant score in Liszt's hand. It is scored for full orchestra.
GSA 60/A7m	Raff's copyist's score.
GSA 60/A7c1-3	Drafts of the variants in Liszt's hand.

The *Hamlet* Manuscripts

GSA 60/A 10a	The earliest extant score in Liszt's hand, dated June 1858.
GSA 60/A 10b	Copyist's score, unknown hand.
Franz Liszt Museum, Budapest Ms. mus.5.6000	Two corrections sheets in Liszt's hand.

Introduction

In 1848, at the height of his fame as the greatest pianist in Europe, Liszt made a decision which many of his admirers found incomprehensible: he settled in the small German backwater of Weimar and shackled himself in service to the court in the role of Kapellmeister of their mediocre orchestra. This decision had been preceded by a highly successful period of relentless concert touring throughout the late 1830s and 1840s. It was a time of financial security, constant adulation and hysterical fans. Yet, in Weimar, Liszt was about to embark on the most fertile period of his life as a composer, completing the *B-minor Sonata*, twelve symphonic poems, the *Faust* and *Dante* symphonies, the final versions of his piano concertos, and numerous Lieder. Many of these compositions are now well known, but far less attention has been paid to Liszt's activities as Kapellmeister, particularly in relation to the genesis of his symphonic poems.

It is important to remember that Liszt developed the genre of the symphonic poem (a one-movement orchestral work with an 'extra-musical' programme) at a time when he worked regularly in the theatre, conducting opera and occasionally incidental music. All but one of the symphonic poems had their premieres in Weimar and these mostly took place in the context of a festival or dramatic production, to which Liszt's music was tailored in terms of subject matter, form, and choice of forces. Yet, such considerations have until now been largely overlooked.² This thesis, therefore, provides new insight into Liszt's often ground-breaking activities in Weimar and the significant impact these activities had on his own compositional plans. In particular, it closely examines four of the symphonic poems against

² The only real exception occurs in scholarship on *Prometheus*, and for this reason the piece has not been chosen as a case study in this thesis. Several authors have carried out detailed studies on the revision of *Prometheus*. Yet, the study most concerned with its performance context is Rainer Kleinertz', 'Liszt's Ouverture und Chöre zu Herders *Entfesseltem Prometheus*' in *Liszt und die Weimarer Klassik* ed. Detlef Altenburg (Regensburg: Laaber, 1997), 155-178.

the context of Liszt's work in the theatre. For the first time, it revisits the significant staged or festival contexts in which these pieces were conceived, premiered, and revised. In doing so, it aims to refine our understanding of the origins and development of these works and the genre of the symphonic poem more generally. And it emphasises the close connection between the symphonic poem and music for the theatre—a fruitful and influential connection that is surprisingly rarely considered in Liszt literature.

In order to achieve these aims this thesis examines four symphonic poems closely associated with a Weimar theatre performance or festival. Three of them (*Tasso*, *Orpheus*, and *Festklänge*) were composed during the period of 1847-54, a time when Liszt was still developing his ideas about the genre. Accordingly, they shed important light on the evolution of Liszt's aims and aesthetic ideas. The final case study chosen is *Hamlet*, the last of the Weimar symphonic poems. It, therefore, offers an important point of comparison. The position of *Hamlet* within the series, composed when Liszt had worked through and developed his ideas, allows us to draw conclusions about Liszt's aims for the series and how he developed these throughout the duration of his time in Weimar. As a whole the four case studies offer important insight into the influence of Liszt's role on the symphonic poems at different stages in the development of the genre.

Historical context: Moving to Weimar

Before we can begin examining Liszt's work in Weimar and the development of the symphonic poems, some historical context is necessary in order to understand the motivations behind Liszt's move to Weimar, his reasons for remaining there, and his compositional plans immediately before he arrived.³ Liszt had actually considered applying for the position of

³ Rather more context regarding Liszt's activities and role in Weimar, his relationships and tensions with others in the town, and the reception of his music will be detailed in Chapter One.

Weimar's Kapellmeister as early as 1837 (on the death of the then Kapellmeister, Hummel).⁴ Through the 1840s he grew increasingly weary of his exhausting lifestyle and wanted to concentrate on composition. On 14 April 1846 he complained to Marie d'Agoult that he was 'absolutely itching to compose. Unfortunately the things I should like to write bring in hardly any money.'⁵ He began to see a Kapellmeister post as an opportunity to devote his time to composition.

Liszt first visited Weimar in November 1841⁶ and gave highly successful concerts on 26 and 29 November.⁷ The programme of this second concert was as follows:

⁴ Adelheid von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar unter der Regierungszeit Karl Friedrichs und Maria Paulownas* (Weimar, 1911-12), 28.

⁵ Translation in Adrian Williams (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 235 of the original French in Daniel Ollivier (ed.), *Correspondance de Liszt et de la Comtesse d'Agoult* Vol. ii (Paris, 1933-4), 354-8.

⁶ Adam Liszt had planned for his son to come to Weimar much earlier to study with Hummel, but the lesson fees were beyond his means. The father therefore took his son to Vienna where he became a pupil of Czerny, who generously expected little in the way of payment. See Alexander Wilhelm Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar und seine letzten Lebensjahre* (Berlin: pub. unknown, 1910), 2.

⁷ Adelheid von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar*, 28.

Figure 1: Playbill of Liszt's First Public Concert in Weimar: 29 November 1841⁸

WEIMAR.

Montag den 29. November 1841.

K o n z e r t

v o n

F r a n z L i s z t

i m

Großherzoglichen Schauspielhause.

Erste Abtheilung.

- 1) Ouverture aus der Hermannschlacht.
- 2) Fantaisie über Motive aus Don Juan, gespielt von Franz Liszt.
- 3) Lied von Proch, gesungen von Dem. Lang, mit Begleitung des Horns, geblasen von Herrn Klemm.
- 4) Hexameron, Bravour-Variationen; 1ste von Thalberg, 2te von Pixis, 3te von Herz, 4te von Chopin, Introduction und Finaale von Franz Liszt über ein Thema aus: die Puritaner, gespielt von Franz Liszt.

Zweite Abtheilung.

- 5) Ouverture aus Euryanthe.
- 6) Invitation a la Valse, von C. M. von Weber.
- 7) Vierstimmiges Lied, gesungen von den Herren Genast, Höfer, Göhe und Flinker.
- 8) Erikönig — Chromatischer Galopp, gespielt von Franz Liszt.

Preise der Plätze:

Balkon	1 Thlr. — Sgr.	Parterre	— 15 Sgr.
Parlet-Sperrfige	1 Thlr. — Sgr.	Gallerie-Loge	— 10 Sgr.
Parterre-Loge	— Thlr. 20 Sgr.	Gallerie	— 7 Sgr.
Parlet	— Thlr. 20 Sgr.		

Anfang halb 7 Uhr.

Ende gegen 9 Uhr.

Das Theater wird um 5 Uhr geöffnet.

Die Billets sind am Tage des Konzerts früh von 9 bis 1 Uhr und Abends von 4 Uhr an, an der Kasse zu haben.

⁸ Playbills reproduced courtesy of the Theaterzettelpjekt, led by the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

The Duke requested that Liszt return the following year to celebrate the homecoming of the newlywed Hereditary Grand Duke and his bride, Grand Duchess Sophie of the Netherlands.⁹ When Liszt returned to play in this concert on 29 October 1842 the Grand Duchess, Maria Paulowna, secured his appointment as ‘Kapellmeister in außerordentlichen Dienst’ or ‘Kapellmeister in extraordinary service’.¹⁰ Liszt’s acceptance may seem surprising, but the small town did have certain charms. The home of Goethe, Schiller, Herder and Wieland, Weimar was a place of great cultural significance. Furthermore, Liszt was on good terms with the Hereditary Grand Duke, Carl Alexander, who showed much sympathy towards the arts. They shared a dream of making Weimar an artistic centre once more.¹¹ But it is clear that Liszt saw the role rather differently from the Grand Duke. Liszt clearly conceptualised it very much as an honorary position, evidenced in his attempts to find a full-time position elsewhere.

A similar post in one of the great music centres of Vienna or Paris would naturally have been more attractive to Liszt than that offered in Weimar. He, of course, already had a formidable reputation as a pianist, ambitious compositional plans, and a wide social circle, which included many of the intellectual and artistic elite and aristocratic families of these great cities. Yet, Paris (his adopted city) was tainted for Liszt due to frosty relations with his former partner, Marie d’Agoult, who remained in the city (and, he believed, used her influence against him).¹² He had also felt increasingly ostracised in Paris following the reaction in the Parisian press to his tours of Hungary and subsequent acceptance of the

⁹ von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar*, 28.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹¹ See Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt Vol. 2: The Weimar Years* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1989), 559 and Ivy York Möller-Christensen and Ernst Möller-Christensen, *Mein edler, theurer Großherzog! Briefwechsel zwischen Hans Christian Andersen und Großherzog Carl Alexander von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998), 165.

¹² See Kenneth Hamilton, ‘Not with a bang, but a whimper: The death of Liszt’s *Sardanapale*’, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8, 1 (1996), 48 for a brief discussion of the influence of d’Agoult on Liszt’s avoidance of Paris.

Hungarian sabre of honour, and their seeming preference for Thalberg and his music. Indeed, Dana Gooley has shown that in 1840, having planned a triumphant return to his adopted city, Liszt had to cancel a public concert because the Parisian reaction to stories of his Hungarian tours had been so negative.¹³ Parisians associated Hungary, and particularly Liszt's acceptance of the sabre of honour, with something outdated and conservative, which was very different from liberal, modern Paris.¹⁴ Liszt's sights, therefore, moved to Vienna, particularly as a prestigious venue for the premiere of his first mature opera, *Sardanapale*, which he was working on at the time. Liszt's letters show that in 1846 he was hopeful of taking up Donizetti's post, for the great opera-composer was gravely ill.¹⁵ Nonetheless, Donizetti retained the post until his death in 1848. Timing, therefore, was not on Liszt's side, though it is doubtful whether he would have been offered such a prestigious post even had it become available, given his inexperience as a conductor and the absence of a successful opera in his compositional portfolio.

Liszt's hopes and ambitions during this period, therefore, easily explain his distance from Weimar from 1842 to 1848. He only returned sporadically to the town in order primarily to conduct court concerts at the beginning of the year for the birthdays of the Grand Ducal family. And sometimes he did not even return for those, despite continual petitions from Carl Alexander.¹⁶ It was not until February 1848 that he decided to take up the post full-time. The timing of this change of heart is significant. 1848, of course, saw a series of revolutions spring up right across Europe. It was, therefore, a difficult and dangerous time in which to be a

¹³ Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 146. For a description of the sabre of honour episode and the Parisian reaction as well as valuable insight into Liszt's relationship with Paris more generally see 18-77 and 140-155.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹⁵ Williams (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters*, 235 (Letter 197 to Marie d'Agoult, 14 April 1846).

¹⁶ For example see La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander, Grossherzog von Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1909), 14 and 15. See also Williams (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters*, 236-238 (Letter 198, 6 October 1846). In this letter Liszt explains his reasons for his delayed return to Weimar and tries to explain the rumours of his taking a position in Vienna.

touring virtuoso. Weimar was little affected by the revolutions and offered a safe haven. Liszt also retained hopes of completing *Sardanapale* and launching his career as a composer and Weimar had a theatre, albeit a small one. Nonetheless, it offered a place where he might experiment and refine his craft. He could safely premiere his new works on a small stage in relative obscurity before taking them to Vienna and other more prestigious venues.

Liszt arrived in Weimar in February 1848, having recently met Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein at a concert in Kiev in February 1847. He spent some time on her large estate at Woronince towards the end of 1847 before continuing to Weimar. He did not expect her to follow him, not least because she was married with a child (though it was an unhappy marriage and Carolyne was utterly infatuated with Liszt). But follow him she did, taking up a large house on the outskirts of Weimar known as the Altenburg. For the first few years Liszt lived in the Hotel Erbprinz, but eventually moved into the Altenburg with the Princess and her daughter, Marie.¹⁷

After this scandal Weimar society was, naturally, unwelcoming to Carolyne and she was not received by the court. This must have made Liszt's situation difficult, though he felt indebted to her for everything she had given up for him and stood by her. The Grand-ducal family turned a blind eye as far as Liszt was concerned and it did not impact on his relationship with them. The Weimar years saw the Princess continually petitioning Rome to ask for a divorce from her husband and the permission to marry Liszt in a Catholic church. Eventually, towards the end of 1861, after their hopes were dashed by a papal emissary refusing the couple permission to marry the night before their intended wedding, Carolyne

¹⁷ For a more detailed account of Liszt's relationship with Carolyne and her daughter and their early years together in Weimar see Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, particularly 'Enter Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein' (25-34), 'The Journeys of the Princess, 1847-1848 (35-57), and 'The Altenburg' (74-87). See also Derek Watson, *Liszt* (The Master Musicians, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), particularly 'Weimar (1848-61)', 79-116. See also Chapter Four of this thesis.

gave up her quest. The couple then lived separately in Rome whilst Liszt took religious orders.¹⁸ Nonetheless, Carolyne was an important influence on Liszt, particularly during the Weimar years. They worked together in the blue room of the Altenburg. She encouraged him to focus on composition, and created catalogues of his work. She also had considerable input into his written publications, drafting essays on various musical topics that Liszt would then refine.¹⁹ He dedicated all twelve of the Weimar symphonic poems to her.

The Development of the ‘Symphonic Poem’

The symphonic poem as a genre developed over a long period. From 1839 Liszt began to make plans for programmatic orchestral works based on Dante and *Faust*, as well a series based on images of death, which included the piece for piano and orchestra, *Totentanz*.²⁰ Yet, Liszt did not begin work on the *Dante* or *Faust* symphonies until the mid-1850s.²¹ In the meantime his attention, as we have seen, was turned to opera, reflected in his correspondence, particularly with Princess Belgiojoso, throughout the 1840s.²²

Undoubtedly, Liszt was very much preoccupied with *Sardanapale* throughout the 1840s, as this was to be the work that would prove his reputation as a composer. Yet, his sketchbooks suggest that the idea for a series of programmatic orchestral works also seems to have been present throughout this time. The possible germ of the idea for the series evolved in the wake of the publication of the programmatic collection, *Album d’un voyageur*. This was

¹⁸ For a detailed account of Carolyne’s attempts to gain papal permission to marry Liszt, and the most complete information regarding the thwarted wedding see Donna M. Di Grazia, ‘Liszt and Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein: New Documents on the Wedding that Wasn’t’, *19th-Century Music* Vol. 12, no. 2 (1988), 148-162.

¹⁹ For a discussion of Carolyne’s role in the preparations of the ‘Dramaturgische Blätter’ (an important series of essays on operas and incidental music recently performed in Weimar, to which this thesis refers in several places) see Detlef Altenburg (ed.), *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5: *Dramaturgische Blätter* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), 149-154.

²⁰ See Watson, *Liszt*, 46-7.

²¹ *Totentanz* was planned in 1839 but Liszt did not begin work until 1849. It was then revised in 1853 and ’59. See *Ibid.*, 351-2.

²² See Kenneth Hamilton, ‘Not with a bang, but a whimper: The death of Liszt’s *Sardanapale*’, 45-58 for details.

first published in 1842 with a preface that seemed to foreshadow the aesthetic aims of the symphonic poems:

Having recently visited many new countries, different landscapes, places consecrated by history and poetry, having felt that the varying aspects of nature and the scenes associated with them did not pass before my eyes as idle images but stirred profound emotions in my soul...I have sought to convey in music some of my most powerful sensations and most vivid perceptions.²³

Liszt also stressed that these pieces grew according to their content ‘without being submitted to the constraint of any customary form’.²⁴

The N1 sketchbook, which dates from 1846-7 (and possibly as early as 1845), contains brief thematic sketches of what would become *Tasso*²⁵ and *Ce qu’on entend sur la montagne*. The N5 sketchbook contains a list of titles of four French poems made in 1846-7. These include *Les Djinns* and *Ce qu’on entend sur la montagne* by Victor Hugo, *Les Haleines* by an unknown author, and *Les Préludes* by Lamartine. Liszt, of course, used *Ce qu’on entend* and *Les Préludes* as the basis for two of the symphonic poems.²⁶ Andrew Bonner has also identified a short sketch in the N4 sketchbook entitled *Les Djinns*.²⁷ From the mid-1840s, therefore, Liszt seems to have begun plans for a significant and ambitious series of programmatic orchestral works, but his extra-musical subject matter was restricted to poetry at this stage. This perhaps accounts for the eventual choice of genre title that initially may well have been intended in a very literal sense. The series, alongside his opera, would form his first offerings as a ‘serious’ composer.

From 1851 progress on *Sardanapale* slowed considerably. The project had previously featured heavily in Liszt’s correspondence, but now disappeared completely. Instead, Liszt’s

²³ Franz Liszt, ‘Foreword’, *Album d’un Voyageur* (Vienna: Tobias Haslinger, 1842).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ This piece was, in fact, based on a piano piece intended for publication in *Venezia e Napoli*. See Chapter Two for details. We will also see that it initially appears to have been closely related to Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* and then reworked as an overture to Goethe’s play.

²⁶ We know, however, that the programme of *Les Préludes* was added after composition. See Andrew Bonner, ‘Liszt’s “Les Préludes” and “Les Quatre Élémens”: a Reinvestigation’, *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1986), 95-107.

²⁷ Ibid., 107.

thoughts turned increasingly to his orchestral series. From at least as early as April 1850 Liszt had definitely decided that he would publish a series of orchestral works. He wrote to Joseph d'Ortigue that month, anticipating that the project would be complete within two or three years.²⁸ This was not to be the case, for the revision process for most of the symphonic poems spanned several years. By 1850 Liszt had sketches in varying degrees of completion of what would become *Ce qu'on entend*, *Tasso*, *Les Préludes*, *Prometheus*, *Héroïde funèbre*, *Hungaria*, and possibly *Festklänge*. Nonetheless, he probably conceptualised the pieces in different ways at this stage. It is, therefore, unclear which pieces he had in mind when writing to d'Ortigue.

For example, the formal structure and programmatic approach of the dramatic overtures of Beethoven and Mendelssohn would certainly provide important models when Liszt arrived in Weimar and was increasingly called upon to provide his own overtures,²⁹ and the one-movement structure coupled with a programmatic topic certainly had overlaps with what he was trying to achieve. The eventual influence of this genre is evidenced in Liszt's use of the term 'overture' or 'prelude' on early drafts of *Orpheus*, *Festklänge*, *Les Préludes* (in its guise as an overture to a series of choral works based on Autran poems), *Hamlet*, *Prometheus*, and *Tasso*. These were all works that initially functioned as an introduction to a performance or a festival, and were often related to spoken drama.

Yet, when Liszt first planned the series in the 1840s, his thoughts were not turned to Weimar or to the stage. At this point the influence of the autobiographical programmatic symphonies of Berlioz was perhaps more profound—and particularly the idea of issuing a preface as an indispensable part of the work. Liszt's pieces based on poetry, as well as the

²⁸ La Mara (ed), *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 8 of 8 (Leipzig, 1893-1905), 62. (Letter to Joseph d'Ortigue, 24 April 1850)

²⁹ See Chapters 2, 4, and 5 for discussions of the influence of these works and of spoken drama generally on Liszt's symphonic poems.

‘personal’ works in which he reflected on important events in his life, such as *Héroïde funèbre* and *Hungaria*, had more in common with Berlioz’s autobiographical approach than concert and dramatic overtures. And Liszt may have seen his own dramatic overtures (such as *Tasso* and *Prometheus*) as separate—not yet part of his planned orchestral series. Yet, eventually Liszt’s work as Kapellmeister and his compositional plans would converge, as this thesis will show.

Continuing on Berlioz’s path, Liszt initially contemplated a new genre which would fuse poetry and music. He would later outline these thoughts in his essay, ‘Berlioz and his “Harold” Symphony’. Liszt found that ‘The program can lend to instrumental music characteristics corresponding almost exactly to the various poetic forms; it can give it the character of the ode, of the dithyramb, of the elegy, in a word, of any form of lyric poetry.’³⁰ He found that creations such as Goethe’s *Faust* and Byron’s *Manfred* did not translate easily to the stage because their philosophical nature, focussing on the thoughts and feelings of the characters, was related to lyric poetry. Liszt felt these characters were more suited for depiction purely in music.³¹

Liszt, inspired by Berlioz’s idea of music depicting a series of images associated with the thoughts or feelings of a protagonist turned to lyric poetry to form a new genre. By incorporating characteristics of poetry, Liszt felt he could create something new: ‘An element, through contact with another, acquires new properties in losing old ones; exercising another influence in an altered environment, it adopts a new name. A change in the relative

³⁰ Franz Liszt, ‘Berlioz and his “Harold” Symphony’, in *Source Readings in Music History* Vol. 5 ed. Oliver Strunk (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1965), 124. The Strunk translation is reliable, but only reprints extracts from this important essay. The full version can be found in *Sammlung Musikalischer Vorträge* Vol. 3 ed. Paul Graf Waldersee (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881), 319-405, though even this is in Lina Ramann’s edition. Unfortunately, originals of Liszt’s written works no longer exist.

³¹ Liszt, ‘Berlioz and his “Harold” Symphony’, 125.

proportions of the mixture is sufficient to make the resultant phenomenon a new one.’³² Liszt felt that the new hybrid genre that he had created required a new name to reflect its new characteristics and approach, and of course, to highlight its originality. This last aspect was of particular importance, as Liszt positioned himself as a musical modernist,³³ and the symphonic poems were a key output of his modernism.

Yet it took a while to settle on an appropriate genre title. Liszt did not use the term ‘symphonic poem’ in public reference to his music until 1854. In the meantime he conducted Wagner’s *Faust Overture* in Weimar. Wagner wrote to Liszt that if he ever published the *Faust Overture* he would call it ‘a tone poem for orchestra’. This was in November 1852.³⁴ Given Liszt’s view that *Faust* offered a subject related to lyric poetry, he may well have found Wagner’s comment highly appropriate, and it was possibly influential on Liszt’s eventual genre designation. Yet Liszt had used the term ‘symphonic poem’ even earlier than this in 1849, in an article on Wagner’s *Tannhäuser* overture, and so, as is typical of the relationship between the two composers and their constant sharing of ideas, it is difficult to determine who should be credited with the term.³⁵ Overall, Liszt appears to have fully determined the idea for the series of orchestral works, and also the genre title around the early 1850s—soon after settling in Weimar, though he had obviously considered the project for rather longer—perhaps as early as 1845.

As already mentioned, before 1854 Liszt’s symphonic poems were described as ‘preludes’, or more commonly, ‘overtures’ on playbills and in letters, and also as symphonies.

³² Ibid., 113

³³ See Chapter One for more discussion of this and the tensions it created in Weimar.

³⁴ See Hanjo Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1988), 248. (Letter 89, 9 November 1852)

³⁵ See Franz Liszt, ‘Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*’ trans. John Sullivan Dwight, introduced, edited and annotated by David Trippett in *Richard Wagner and his World* ed. Thomas S. Grey (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), 260.

In 1851 he referred to *Ce qu'on entend* as a 'meditation symphony' in a letter to Joachim Raff³⁶ and on 16 February 1854 *Orpheus* was conducted as a 'Vorspiel' or 'prelude' to Gluck's opera. The next symphonic poem to receive a public outing was *Les Préludes* in a concert on 23 February 1854. Here the term 'symphonic poem' was used for the first time.³⁷ And on 2 March 1854 Liszt wrote to Louis Kohler that 'At the end of the year you shall get some still greater guns from me, for I think that by that time several of my orchestral works (under the collective title of "Symphonische Dichtungen") will come out.'³⁸ Liszt must have settled on the term in the spring of 1854 and used it consistently from that time onwards.

Literature Review

Primary Sources

The majority of Liszt's manuscripts, including almost all of those related to the symphonic poems, are held in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar. However, some can be found in the Franz Liszt Memorial Museum in Budapest and at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. The relevant manuscripts of all of these archives have been consulted during the preparation of this thesis. Fortunately, many have been preserved and are helpfully catalogued, but some are missing or have been destroyed. The collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and of the US Library of Congress also contain symphonic poem autographs, but none relating to the case studies in this thesis.

³⁶ Helene Raff (ed), 'Franz Liszt und Joachim Raff im Spiegel ihrer Briefe', *Die Musik* 1(1901-2), 1163.

³⁷ The term appears on the playbill. See http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/receive/ThHStAW_archivesource_00016505?jumpback=true&maximized=true&page=/009298.tif&derivate=ThHStAW_derivate_00044706 [accessed 15/08/2012] This date is earlier than generally believed by Liszt scholars. It is generally thought that Liszt first used the term publicly at a performance of *Tasso* in April 1854. For example, see Kenneth Hamilton, 'Liszt' in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony* ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 144.

³⁸ See La Mara (ed.), *Letters of Liszt*, trans. Constance Bache Vol. 1 (London, 1894), 183 (Letter 109 to Louis Kohler, 2 March 1854). For the original see, La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 1, 150: 'Mit Ende des Jahres sollen Sie von mir noch gröberes Geschütz bekommen, denn ich denke, dass bis dahin mehrere meiner Orchester-Werke (unter dem Collectiv-Titel „Symphonische Dichtungen“) erscheinen.'

An extensive collection of documents relating to the administrative side of the running of the court theatre is available at the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Weimar. This includes job descriptions, bills, circulars, concert programmes, plans for festivals and various other records. These have been consulted in order to build a general picture of how the theatre was run. In addition, the Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt holds the majority of the scores that belonged to the theatre. These include the score of Gluck's *Orpheus*, which was probably used at Liszt's production of the opera. Yet, unfortunately, there are lots of gaps. The archive does not have any incidental music used for the other productions under discussion here and some material was sadly lost in a fire of 2004. Finally, the three main archives in Weimar holding documents relevant to Liszt research, the Goethe and Schiller Archive, the Hauptstaatsarchiv and the Hochschule, have recently worked together in order to make the playbills in their collection accessible to the wider public. This is an extensive collection that is now available online,³⁹ providing an invaluable resource for those interested in the repertoire of the Weimar court theatre during Liszt's era.

Aside from archival sources, numerous letters have been examined. Liszt was not prone to discussing his compositions in detail in his correspondence, but he did make occasional observations about his and other composers' works and, as such, his correspondence provides an important source of information regarding the genesis and performance circumstances of the symphonic poems. They also provide important insights into his duties at the theatre and the working conditions there.

A significant proportion of the collected correspondence has been published in various volumes, but the state of research resists easy summary. The standard collection is La Mara's

³⁹ <http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/content/main/search-playbill.xml>

Franz Liszt's Briefe in eight volumes.⁴⁰ The letters in these volumes are predominantly in French (Liszt's language of preference), but with several in German (including some translated into German by the editor). La Mara's collection of letters between Liszt and individual figures such as the Grand Duke, Carl Alexander⁴¹ and Hans von Bülow⁴² and her collection of letters from notable contemporaries to Liszt⁴³ also include important details. But the La Mara editions were often heavily censored. Some of the letters were of a sensitive nature, and many of the people concerned were still alive when they were published. This makes the many alternate collections that have appeared over the last twenty years invaluable, as they are usually uncensored, and include useful scholarly apparatus. Such publications include Hanjo Kesting's, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*,⁴⁴ Pauline Pocknell's *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: a Correspondence*,⁴⁵ Klara Hamburger's *Franz Liszt. Briefwechsel mit seiner Mutter*,⁴⁶ and Bellas and Gut's *Correspondance*,⁴⁷ which is the most complete edition of the Liszt-d'Agoult letters. In 2010 a new version of Liszt's letters to Carolyn's daughter Marie appeared prepared by Pauline Pocknell, Malou Haine, and Nicolas Dufetel.⁴⁸ A new edition of Liszt's correspondence with Carl Alexander is also soon to appear, prepared by Haine and Dufetel. Finally, Adrian Williams's *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters*⁴⁹ is a useful collection of English translations, including letters to and from a wide variety of correspondents, some hitherto unpublished.

⁴⁰ La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe* 8 Vols. (Leipzig, 1893-1905).

⁴¹ See La Mara, *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander, Großherzog von Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1909).

⁴² La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Hans von Bülow* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898).

⁴³ La Mara (ed.), *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, 3 Vols. (Leipzig, 1895- 1904).

⁴⁴ Hanjo Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1988).

⁴⁵ Pauline Pocknell (ed.), *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: a Correspondence* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1999).

⁴⁶ Klara Hamburger (ed.), *Franz Liszt Briefwechsel mit seiner Mutter* (Eisenstadt, 2000).

⁴⁷ Jacqueline Bellas and Serge Gut (eds.), *Correspondance Franz Liszt Marie d'Agoult* (Paris, 2001).

⁴⁸ Pauline Pocknell, Malou Haine, Nicolas Dufetel, *Lettres de Franz Liszt à la Princesse Marie de Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst née de Sayn-Wittgenstein* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique Vrin, 2010).

⁴⁹ Adrian Williams (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Finally, a new complete edition of Liszt's writings is under preparation by Detlef Altenburg,⁵⁰ though, unfortunately, the originals no longer exist. Only four volumes of this 9-volume series have appeared so far, but they are a considerable improvement on Lina Ramann's edition.⁵¹ Several of Liszt's articles, particularly the 'Dramaturgische Blätter',⁵² are highly relevant to this thesis. These articles were based on Liszt's experiences of conducting staged productions at Weimar, and contain many insights into his thoughts on drama and music during the Weimar years. Equally, 'Berlioz and his "Harold" Symphony',⁵³ written in response to Hanslick's 'On the Musically Beautiful',⁵⁴ is vital to any discussion of Liszt's intentions regarding his programmatic symphonic music, because it identifies the literature Liszt found most suitable for musical expression, and outlines many of the ideas behind the symphonic poems.

Contemporary Secondary Sources

An important aspect of this study is to reconstruct the context in which the pieces under discussion were written and performed. It is necessary, therefore, to consult contemporary documents. Fortunately, there are many reminiscences available written by those living in Weimar during Liszt's time. One such chronicle of Weimar life is Adelheid von Schorn's *Das nachklassische Weimar unter der Regierungszeit Karl Friedrichs und Maria Paulownas*.⁵⁵ The recollections of those connected to the theatre are also particularly valuable, including those of Eduard Genast,⁵⁶ the organist Gottschalg,⁵⁷ and the selected

⁵⁰ Detlef Altenburg, *Franz Liszt: Sämtliche Schriften* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989-present).

⁵¹ Lina Ramann (ed.) *Franz Liszt's gesammelte Schriften* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1880-83)

⁵² Altenburg (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5: *Dramaturgische Blätter* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989).

⁵³ See Franz Liszt, 'Berlioz and his "Harold" Symphony' in *Source Readings in Music History* Vol. 5 ed. Oliver Strunk (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1965), 106-133.

⁵⁴ Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, trans. Geoffrey Payzant (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1986).

⁵⁵ Adelheid von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar unter der Regierungszeit Karl Friedrichs und Maria Paulownas* (Weimar, 1911-12).

⁵⁶ See Eduard Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Robert Lutz, 1904).

writings of the composer Peter Cornelius,⁵⁸ who lived in Weimar whilst Liszt was there. Adrian Williams's *Portrait of Liszt by Himself and His Contemporaries*⁵⁹ is useful as a collection of reminiscences gathered from a variety of people. Added to this are texts written about Liszt by people he knew, including his official biographer Lina Ramann.⁶⁰ Ramann also provides analyses of the majority of Liszt's work. These analyses are important for our understanding of Liszt's intentions, for Ramann had unique access to the composer. Liszt was involved to some extent in the creation of the biography, completing questionnaires for Ramann's use. He made corrections to the first volume, which was partially revised,⁶¹ although some of the corrections never made it into print.⁶² Moreover, Ramann's notes and the documents she used when writing *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* were published posthumously in 1983 under the title *Lisztiana*.⁶³ They show that her analyses sometimes included significant input from the composer himself.⁶⁴ *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* is, therefore, invaluable to any discussion of Liszt's work. Yet, as is the case with the composer's own writings, it is difficult to know exactly how much of it can be attributed to Liszt. Furthermore, the idealised stance that Ramann takes throughout, and her close proximity to the author and to Princess Wittgenstein are themselves problematic, though *Lisztiana* shows that Ramann did try to resist the influence of the Princess. In this category we

⁵⁷ A. W. Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar und seine letzten Lebensjahre* (Berlin: pub. unknown, 1910).

⁵⁸ Peter Cornelius, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnfeld Verlag, 1938).

⁵⁹ Adrian Williams *Portrait of Liszt By Himself and His Contemporaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

⁶⁰ Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vols. 1 and 2 (Leipzig, 1880-94).

⁶¹ Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley (eds.), *Franz Liszt and his World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 365.

⁶² See James Deaville, 'Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius, and Early Musicology', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 21:1 (2002), 88.

⁶³ Lina Ramann, *Lisztiana* (Mainz: Schott, 1983).

⁶⁴ For example, see the comments Ramann records she heard from Liszt about his *Hamlet*. Ibid., 258.

might also mention Göllicher's, *Franz Liszt*,⁶⁵ based on his conversations with Liszt throughout the later years of Liszt's life.

Of course, all of these recollections should be treated with caution, as personal biases and fallible memories may lead to errors and exaggerations. Yet, cross-referencing them with each other and with Liszt's letters can counteract this. As a whole they provide important details of Liszt's life in Weimar and occasionally of particular performances.

Added to these reminiscences, reviews in newspapers and periodicals can give important extra details of particular performances and festivals. This thesis has consulted issues of the *Weimarische Zeitung*, *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* and *Allgemeine Theater-Chronik* among others. Again, certain biases exist amongst the contributors to these papers. An extension of this is the contemporary articles written by those in Liszt's circle, such as Wagner,⁶⁶ Richard Pohl⁶⁷ and Felix Draeseke.⁶⁸ Draeseke's series of articles on the symphonic poems is the most detailed and analytical of defences of these works, but, unfortunately, only the first nine of the symphonic poems were available to him. They nevertheless provide important insights into how Liszt's symphonic poems were understood by a contemporary with close connections to Liszt's circle in Weimar, and also perhaps, therefore, by Liszt himself. Such insights are often neglected in Liszt literature today.⁶⁹

Secondary Literature

⁶⁵ August Göllicher, *Franz Liszt* (Berlin: Marquardt & Co., 1908).

⁶⁶ See Richard Wagner, 'On Liszt's Symphonic Poems' in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* Vol. 3, trans. Williams Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894).

⁶⁷ Richard Pohl, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* Vol. 2: *Franz Liszt Studien und Erinnerungen* (Leipzig: Bernhard Schlicke, 1883). In particular see 'Liszt in Weimar, als Dirigent und Komponist', 138-180 and 'Die symphonischen Dichtungen. Ihre Entstehung, Wirkung und Gegnerschaft,' 199-228.

⁶⁸ All of Draeseke's essays on Liszt's work are available in: Felix Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861* ed. Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff and Helmut Loos (Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1987).

⁶⁹ See Chapter Four

Liszt was a maligned figure in musicology for much of the 20th century,⁷⁰ but from the 1970s he has gradually become a subject of greater scholarly interest. As a result, Liszt research still falls behind that of many other composers, but the situation is improving. Literature of the 70s and 80s tended to focus on biographical accounts of the composer.⁷¹ More recently, scholarship has tended to focus on Liszt's music. Yet, there is still much scope for research into the symphonic poems in particular. Although they are mentioned regularly in current academic publications, they are rarely considered in detail. Usually they are discussed in the context of brief overviews of Liszt's orchestral music.⁷² Detailed studies of the symphonic music as a whole are rare.

The only book-length study in the English language is *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* by Keith T. Johns⁷³ but this posthumous publication displays a disappointingly narrow and dated approach. Most of the space devoted to musical discussion is taken up considering 'quasi-traditional musical topics'⁷⁴ in Liszt's music, such as 'Lament, Mourning, Death, and the Funeral March', offering a restricted view of hermeneutics in Liszt's music. Much is based on Humphrey Searle's overview of the symphonic poems in *The Music of Liszt*. The author also devotes half of the book to a very limited reception history of the symphonic poems spanning the years 1855-61. The study, therefore, does not include performances of all

⁷⁰ One of the texts most responsible for maintaining Liszt's bad image is Ernest Newman, *The man Liszt: a Study of the Tragi-comedy of a Soul Divided Against Itself* (London: Cassell, 1934).

⁷¹ The most important of these is Alan Walker's three-volume *Franz Liszt*: Vol. 1: *The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847* (Rev. edn, London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1989). Vol. 2: *The Weimar Years* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1989). Vol. 3: *The Final Years* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1997). Walker did much to make Liszt a subject of serious study. Yet the mixture of hagiography and lack of emphasis on Liszt's music has the consequence that these three lengthy volumes are, unfortunately, often superficial.

⁷² Examples include Watson's 'Orchestral Music' in his *Liszt*, 264-84; Reeves Shulstad's 'Liszt's symphonic poems and symphonies' in *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* ed. Kenneth Hamilton (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 206-222; and Alan Walker's chapter 'Liszt and the Orchestra' in the second volume of his *Franz Liszt*, 300-337.

⁷³ Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997).

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 17.

of the symphonic poems, for some had to wait until long after 1861 for their premieres,⁷⁵ and it also does not consider the premieres in Weimar before 1855, which are examined in this thesis.

Liszt scholarship has recently seen some important contributions considering a variety of facets of Liszt's life and work,⁷⁶ but still the symphonic poems have suffered neglect. There are several studies that focus on the relationship between form and programme and how this reflects what a symphonic poem might be.⁷⁷ The advent of 'New Musicology' in the 1990s saw the publication of studies focussing purely on the programmatic aspects of Liszt's work. Yet, these studies often took a one-sided and highly subjective approach to this complicated issue.⁷⁸ More recent musicologists have preferred to avoid programmatic readings, adopting a more formalist approach. Steven Vande Moortele, for example, prefers to analyse Liszt's symphonic poems in terms of recent formal analysis, drawing on James Hepokoski's work.⁷⁹ Such an approach to Liszt's music is, of course, valuable. Yet, it would appear that the emphasis in contemporary literature on text analysis has left a gap regarding the original purpose and performance circumstances of Liszt's work.

Furthermore, there is a tendency in Liszt studies for a relentless focus on a small number of pieces. *Les Préludes* and *Prometheus* have received much attention, for example. Yet other fascinating works, such as *Festklänge*, are very rarely investigated. Overall,

⁷⁵ Derek Watson, *Liszt*, 104.

⁷⁶ Examples include, Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jonathan Gregor, *Liszt as Transcriber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁷⁷ Examples include Richard Kaplan's, 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt: The Revolutionary Reconsidered', *19th Century Music*, 8 (1984), 142-52 and Vera Micznik's 'The Absolute Limitations of Programme Music: The Case of Liszt's "Die Ideale"', *Music and Letters*, 80 (1999), 207-40

⁷⁸ For example, see Edward W. Murphy, 'A Detailed Program for Liszt's *Hamlet*', *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, 29 (1991), 42-60.

⁷⁹ For examples see Steven Vande Moortele, 'Form, Program, and Deformation in Liszt's *Hamlet*', *Tijdschrift Voor Muziektheorie*, 11 (2006), 71-82 and Steven Vande Moortele, 'Beyond Sonata Deformation: Liszt's Symphonic Poem *Tasso* and the Concept of 2-Dimensional Sonata Form', *Current Musicology*, No. 86 (2008), 41-62.

literature on the symphonic poems is highly uneven in terms of both quality and approach. And many of these fascinating pieces are, surprisingly, yet to receive much scholarly attention.

There has been a wealth of studies on Liszt's habit of revising his music. Rena Mueller is one of the leading authorities on Liszt manuscripts. Some of her findings are available in her doctoral thesis⁸⁰ and in articles.⁸¹ Other scholars, such as John Williamson⁸² and Paul Bertagnolli⁸³ have focussed particularly on revisions made to *Prometheus*. The work of these writers is very important in establishing chronology, cataloguing the manuscripts and listing revisions that Liszt made. Yet, their work intentionally avoids issues of general narrative—how a composition developed as it did, or, even more importantly, of analysis—of why it happened in this way. Conclusions are, as a result, rarely formed about the broader significance of Liszt's revisions. An exception to this is David Trippett who uses manuscripts of *Après une Lecture du Dante* as one source in conjunction with others in order to draw broader conclusions about genre, and to chart compositional history in an unusually accessible and meaningful way.⁸⁴

Finally, though Liszt studies have seen many insightful publications on a variety of aspects of Liszt's life and work, very few scholars have approached Liszt's practical work in

⁸⁰ Rena Charnin Mueller, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Revisions', Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1986).

⁸¹ See Rena Charnin Mueller, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Chronology', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 28, 1/4 (1986), 273-293 or Mueller, 'Reevaluating the Liszt Chronology: the Case of "Anfangs wollt ich fast verzagen"', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 12, No. 2 (1988), 132-147.

⁸² John Williamson, 'The Revision of Liszt's "Prometheus"', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), 381-390.

⁸³ Paul A. Bertagnolli, 'A Newly Discovered Source for Franz Liszt's "Chore zu Herder's 'Entfesseltem Prometheus"', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter, 2002), 125-170 and Paul A. Bertagnolli, 'From overture to symphonic poem, from melodrama to choral cantata: Studies of the sources for Franz Liszt's "Prometheus" and his "Chore zu Herder's 'Entfesseltem Prometheus"', Ph.D. diss. (Washington University, 1998).

⁸⁴ See David Trippett, 'Après une Lecture de Liszt: Virtuosity and Werktreue in the "Dante" Sonata', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 32, No. 1 (2008), 52-93.

Weimar. Allan Keiler's article from 1986, 'Liszt and the Weimar Hoftheater',⁸⁵ provides a helpful overview of the sources. Yet, some of his information on the location of these sources is, understandably, now out of date, and his article does not allow enough space for a full discussion—Keiler himself argues the need for a book-length study in this area. Some more general histories of the Weimar court theatre include useful passages on Liszt.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Wolfram Huschke has recently published *Franz Liszt: Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar*.⁸⁷ This provides the most comprehensive overview to date of Liszt's activities. Yet, given Huschke's proximity to the archives the book is disappointing. Some sources used in this thesis do not appear in Huschke's book, and many aspects are not dealt with in any detail, perhaps because half of the book is devoted to Liszt's posthumous legacy in Weimar. Indeed, much of the material had already appeared in Huschke's earlier *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar, 1756-1861*. Overall, the recent book is useful, but, an over-reliance on certain archival sources and solely German-language literature restricts the scope of the work.

The inadequacies of current Liszt literature necessitate the use of texts from theatre studies in order to extrapolate broader conclusions that can also be related to Liszt. Simon Williams is one of the leading contributors to scholarship on German theatres and actors in the nineteenth century. His overviews of acting styles and trends in 18th- and 19th-century German theatre⁸⁸ provide important insight into the working conditions, stage traditions, and artistic context with which Liszt was involved.

⁸⁵ Allan Keiler, 'Liszt and the Weimar Hoftheater', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* Vol. 28 (1986), 431-450.

⁸⁶ These include Wolfram Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar, 1756-1861* and Leonhard Schrikel, *Geschichte des Weimarer Theaters von seinen Anfängen bis heute* (Weimar, 1928).

⁸⁷ Wolfram Huschke, *Franz Liszt: Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar* (Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft, 2010).

⁸⁸ For example, see Simon Williams *Shakespeare on the German Stage* Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), *German Actors of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: idealism, romanticism and*

Overall, despite the improvements in Liszt studies in recent years there are still considerable lacunae as regards the symphonic poems generally, and Liszt's work at the Weimar court theatre in particular. Furthermore, whilst the original performance context of the symphonic poems is occasionally mentioned in passing, its implications have yet to be considered in any detail. This thesis attempts to address this issue. Moreover, the majority of manuscripts analysed in this thesis have hitherto never been examined in any detail. This thesis, therefore, offers new information on Liszt's work in Weimar and its impact on the symphonic poems. And it suggests a new and potentially fruitful way of approaching and understanding the 'dramatic group' of the symphonic poems (i.e. those composed for and premiered alongside a dramatic production).

Aims and Hypotheses

In order to understand the context against which the symphonic poems were composed, this thesis firstly aims to create a clearer and more detailed picture of Liszt's activities in Weimar. It attempts to establish Liszt's involvement in repertoire choices and rehearsals, the strength of the ensembles, the performance traditions with which he had to work, and the aesthetic position of the Weimar theatre.

Secondly, it aims, in particular, to discover the impact of the original performance/compositional context on *Tasso*, *Orpheus*, *Festklänge*, and *Hamlet*. It attempts a detailed exploration of their function as overtures or entr'actes presented in a supporting role to dramatic productions. Such a study has never before appeared in Liszt scholarship.

And thirdly, by comparing the 'overture' versions of these pieces with the published scores, it aims to discover how they were revised to become part of the series of symphonic

realism (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood, 1985) and Simon Williams and Maik Hamburger (eds), *A History of German Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

poems. In tracing this revisions process, this thesis attempts to understand how Liszt developed and conceptualised his new genre, and to identify which features became definitive of it.

In considering all of these things, this thesis argues the following broad hypotheses. Firstly, that Liszt initially kept his personal compositional goals separate from the commissions he had to complete as part of his role as Kapellmeister, but gradually they began to overlap closely. Secondly, that spoken and musical theatre offered a rich source of inspiration, which impacted on several of the symphonic poems in a number of surprising and significant ways. Thirdly, that consideration of this compositional and performance context can and should impact upon the way we understand and evaluate these pieces and the genre as a whole. And finally, that the revisions process that took these works from the stage to the concert hall can provide important insights into how Liszt developed what a symphonic poem might be.

Methodology

This thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach. It draws on literature from theatre studies in order to further our understanding of the world of the nineteenth-century theatre in which Liszt worked. The use of this literature creates a broader framework in which to analyse Liszt's symphonic poems than can be achieved using exclusively musical sources. It also occasionally draws on literature studies, particularly genre theory, as the study of genre has generally been developed further in the study of literature than of music. These new approaches complement and inform the mixture of historical musicology and analysis that governs the thesis as a whole. The conclusions of this thesis are supported primarily by an in-depth comparative analysis of primary documentary sources, including manuscripts, Liszt's published writings, letters and archival documents. This is bolstered by contemporary

secondary sources, such as newspaper reviews, the reminiscences and writings of Liszt's contemporaries, and naturally with scholarly literature.

To some extent this thesis considers issues of genre development and definition. Genre can, of course, have many markers. John Frow has identified several, including formal features, thematic structure, situation of address and rhetorical function.⁸⁹ Genre is therefore defined by a range of interwoven factors, necessitating that this thesis considers a variety of dimensions for each case study. These include the context of composition and performance, the process of revisions based on existing manuscripts, formal analysis and hermeneutic interpretations.

As Liszt's approach to form and programme varies in each symphonic poem, it has been necessary to utilise a variety of approaches in interpreting them. As several of the symphonic poems are structured from large-scale blocks which rework earlier material, James Hepokoski's work on 'rotational form' has offered a useful analytical tool, particularly as a way to approach *Tasso* and *Hamlet*.⁹⁰ On the other hand, a work like *Festklänge* presents a more 'traditional' sonata form structure (as shall be argued in chapter four), and, therefore, necessitates a different approach. Consequently, the author has applied a combination of the writings of Liszt's contemporaries on sonata form and recent musicological studies on the relationship between tonal and rhetorical structural markers to this work.⁹¹ This has offered a fruitful means of interpreting the 'traditional' structure of the piece against formal thinking of the time, whilst also considering Liszt's innovation of creating incongruence between the tonal and rhetorical elements.

⁸⁹ John Frow, *Genre* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 9.

⁹⁰ See James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 25 for a definition of rotational form.

⁹¹ Recent studies, such as, Anne M. Hyland's, 'Rhetorical Closure in the First Movement of Schubert's Quartet in C Major, D. 46: a Dialogue with Deformation', *Music Analysis*, 28/i (2009), 111-142 have offered a useful tool for interpreting the formal structure of *Festklänge*.

The approach taken in this thesis to interpreting the programmatic aspects of Liszt's music largely explores Liszt's references to genres and styles outside of the traditional remit of the symphony (as a result of the dramatic performance and compositional context). Naturally, these differ in each piece and so the interpretive approach must respond to this in a flexible way. Generally, however, Semiotics informs the author's approach.⁹² Within each work the author identifies a variety of 'topics' or other 'signifiers' of different genres and styles (usually associated with dramatic genres) and demonstrates how these signifiers convey an aspect of the programme. These include the paratactic songwriting style of *Orpheus*, the dramatic interplay of musical 'characters' that suggests an operatic approach in the courtly 'scene' in *Tasso*, and the signifiers often used in Melodrama (such as tremolos to suggest the supernatural) in *Hamlet*. All of this is firmly grounded in Liszt's own comments on programme where known. Again, the approach necessarily varies for *Festklänge* because this work is not programmatic in the way that the others are (see chapter four for details). Signifiers of genre and style are still identified, but mainly as a means to interpret the compositional context rather than programme.

In the course of any investigation certain methodological problems arise. The fragmented nature of archival resources is a significant issue. In some cases we know that a score, referred to in Liszt's annotations and correction pages, must once have existed, but is now lost. And there may well have been other scores of which there is no record at all. Furthermore, Liszt's scores often contain many layers of revisions in different coloured inks, new pages are sometimes pasted on top of original layers, and the contributions of

⁹² The methodology is influenced by Leonard Ratner's approach to Semiotics, which identifies styles and topics with particular meanings. (See Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form and Style* (New York, 1980).) However, the author does not wish to be limited by slavishly and simplistically labelling various styles and topics as they occur in Liszt's music. Instead, these 'signifiers' are understood in relation to a multi-dimensional view of the whole work, which includes the form, programme, performance context, and revisions process.

amanuenses are often evident. A single score, therefore, may represent many stages of revision over a period of time and from a variety of contributors.⁹³ All of this leads to a fragmented picture of composition and revision from which it is sometimes difficult to identify an entirely clear chronology; it is essential to bear this in mind when trying to create a “narrative” for Liszt’s process of revision.

To some extent this dissertation relies on Liszt’s own comments given in interviews to his official biographer, Lina Ramann. Comments to Ramann were largely made retrospectively, and we must consider the unreliability of memory when approaching them. The contentious input of Carolyne von Sayn Wittgenstein also creates further difficulties in judging the reliability of Ramann’s account. Equally, it must always be remembered that much of Liszt’s published writing was effectively “ghost written” by the two main women in his life, Marie d’Agoult and Princess Wittgenstein. Generally, however, it is agreed that as these collaborators had little musical expertise, the comments on purely musical issues can be relatively safely attributed to Liszt.⁹⁴ Yet, as the original manuscripts no longer exist it is impossible to document his input with any exactness.

In the case of Liszt’s letters and writings, we must also consider that the composer was very conscious of his public appearance. From the 1840s onwards, as his fame increased, he may well have kept in mind the possibility that his letters might eventually reach the public domain. In reading his comments, therefore, we must consider how he wanted to appear to others, both to the specific addressee and to the public, and whether this impacted on his

⁹³ The topic of the contribution of amanuenses has been dealt with extensively in the Liszt literature. One of the most important contributions to this area is Peter Raabe’s doctoral thesis: Peter Raabe, ‘Die Entstehungsgeschichte der ersten Orchesterwerke Franz Liszts’, Ph.D. diss. (University of Jena, 1916). See also Paul A. Bertagnolli, ‘Amanuensis or Author? The Liszt-Raff Collaboration Revisited’, *19th Century Music*, 26 (2002), 23-51.

⁹⁴ See Charles Suttoni, ‘Liszt’s Writings and Correspondence’ in *The Liszt Companion* ed. Ben Arnold (Westport Conn.; London: Greenwood, 2002), 29-37 for an overview of Liszt’s writings and brief discussion of authorship issues.

version of events. Some of these issues are also relevant to the reminiscences of others and to reviews, particularly those appearing in periodicals whose editors actively supported Liszt's works, or equally those who were set against him.

Synopsis and Structure

This thesis is specifically limited to symphonic poems influenced by dramatic forms associated with the theatre and premiered in this context. The symphonic poem *Prometheus*, originally composed as an overture to a production of Herder's *Der entfesselte Prometheus*, is, however, absent from this study because, although it is part of the 'dramatic group', it has already received a considerable amount of attention in the Liszt literature.⁹⁵

Each case study explores the ways in which the premieres and compositional circumstances of each piece were linked to dramatic productions. They each reveal an influence from a different theatrical genre, tradition, or style, namely the Beethovenian dramatic overture, Gluck's reform operas, processional/entr'acte music, and melodrama/incidental music. But before examining these pieces, chapter one investigates in detail Liszt's activities in the Weimar court theatre.

The chapter is split into two main parts. The first details the various officials responsible for the running of the theatre. It summarises the duties of dramatic and musical staff and briefly considers Liszt's relationships with each of them and how they helped or hindered his own plans. It also briefly describes the acting style and aesthetic outlook of the Weimar stage. The second part covers Liszt's own duties in detail. It investigates his choice of

⁹⁵ See Paul Bertagnolli, 'From overture to symphonic poem, from melodrama to choral cantata: Studies of the sources for Franz Liszt's "Prometheus" and his "Chore zu Herder's 'Entfesseltem Prometheus'"', Ph.D. diss. (Washington University, 1998); Bertagnolli, 'A Newly Discovered Source for Franz Liszt's "Chore zu Herder's 'Entfesseltem Prometheus'"', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter, 2002), 125-170; John Williamson, 'The Revision of Liszt's "Prometheus"', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), 381-390, and Rainer Kleinertz, 'Liszt's Ouverture und Chöre zu Herders *Entfesseltem Prometheus*' in *Liszt und die Weimarer Klassik* ed. Detlef Altenburg (Regensburg: Laaber, 1997), 155-178.

operatic and concert repertoire, the performance traditions that he was expected to maintain, his involvement in rehearsals, the strengths and weaknesses of Weimar's resources, and the new expectations on him as a composer. Throughout it considers the impact of all of this on his personal project: the symphonic poems. Performance circumstances in Weimar encouraged his work in this genre, but Liszt also adapted the expectations of his role to fit in with his own compositional aims.

Chapter two takes *Tasso* as a case study because it offers a fascinating insight into Liszt's developing conception of the symphonic poem at an early stage of his Weimar tenure. Consequently, the chapter traces how *Tasso* grew from a piano piece largely associated with Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, to an overture to Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*, to a symphonic poem. It also reveals important new findings about Liszt's expectations of the structural and stylistic aspects of dramatic overtures. Indeed, the influence of Beethoven's Overture to *Egmont* as an important model for Liszt's 'Overture to *Tasso*' is traced in detail. The chapter ends by considering the pieces that Liszt conducted as entr'actes during this performance and what these choices can tell us about Liszt's developing ideas on the collaboration of music and drama.

Liszt's *Orpheus* is the subject of chapter three. Here the symphonic poem is considered in its original performance context as an overture to Gluck's opera. The chapter examines several important structural and stylistic features, all of which reveal deliberate links to Gluck's opera and broader conceptual ideas. It shows that several of these connections are indeed found only in the 'overture' and were removed during the revision process, but some still remain in the Symphonic Poem. It concludes by discussing Liszt's often ignored closing music for the opera, based on the themes of his overture, unravelling the motivations behind its insertion.

Chapter four then investigates one of Liszt's least known symphonic poems, *Festklänge*, as it offers an important opportunity for understanding the influence of Weimar's festival culture on Liszt's work. Indeed, the chapter argues for a re-evaluation of the traditionally held view that *Festklänge* was composed in celebration of the forthcoming wedding of Liszt and Princess Wittgenstein. Instead, it posits the fiftieth jubilee of the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna as the main impetus behind the composition. It then evaluates the role of this piece within this celebration: an entr'acte between Schiller's *Die Huldigung der Künste* and Rubinstein's *Die sibirischen Jäger*. It argues that traditional stylistic and formal features of the festival overture, entr'acte, and processional music are prevalent in this piece because of its compositional and performance context, and that these features separate it from the rest of the symphonic poems.

Chapter five deals with the last of the Weimar symphonic poems: *Hamlet*. This case study provides an important example of the significant relationship between Liszt's music and spoken theatre, a connection that has received very little attention in Liszt literature. Unlike the other pieces, *Hamlet* was not premiered as an overture or entr'acte to a dramatic production, but it does have important links with Bogumil Dawison's performance of *Hamlet* given on the Weimar stage in January 1856. The chapter begins by examining Dawison's influence, arguing that his innovative interpretation and melodramatic style gave Liszt the key to interpreting the tragedy in specifically musical terms. It then shows that Liszt's *Hamlet* was consequently imbued with more narrative detail than any of the other symphonic poems, incorporated devices associated with Parisian melodrama, and generally demonstrated an approach akin to incidental music.

Chapter One: Liszt as Kapellmeister

Liszt's appointment as Kapellmeister provoked controversy from the very beginning. He experienced hostility from the family of his predecessor, Hummel, and also from others who felt Liszt to be under-qualified. At that time he was only really known as a concert pianist, had never written a mature opera, and had little conducting experience.¹ As early as January 1852, Liszt's pupil, Hans von Bülow, wrote to his father:

If I went over to the anti-Liszt side I should soon be immensely popular. Liszt's enemies here are like refuse by the sea; for he interests himself in other things besides piano-playing...and that is a thorn in people's side. They only allow him, in fact, the right to entertain them as a pianist, which he has given up once for all.²

Liszt's appointment provoked a split between 'Old Weimar' (or what von Bülow refers to as the 'anti-Liszt side') and 'new' Weimar. This opposition grew throughout his tenure, as the split between 'old' and 'new' Weimar became impossible to negotiate, particularly amongst the theatre management. From the beginning, Liszt felt that many of the Weimarers were living in the past with their obsession with Goethe and Schiller, and their refusal to meet any new artistic ideas with an open mind. He referred to this group of people as the 'posthumous party',³ whilst for their part they found the music of Liszt and his circle unsettling. 'Old Weimar' was conservative in its artistic tastes, and was obsessed with preserving the legacy of its glorious past through revivals of Goethe and Schiller, whilst 'New Weimar' aimed to cultivate the 'music of the future'. Liszt's music was self-consciously radical and his circle aimed at musical modernism, which included experimental harmonies, a new approach to form, expressive and original orchestrations, and, of course, music that referred to or attempted to depict somehow an 'extramusical' subject. Yet, it also became

¹ Until now Liszt's main conducting experience had been in 1845 when he had conducted his *Beethoven Cantata* at the unveiling of the Beethoven monument in Bonn. See Alexander Rehding, 'Liszt's Musical Monuments', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer 2002), 52-72 for a full discussion of this work and its premiere.

² Hans von Bülow, *The Early Correspondence*, ed. his widow, trans. Constance Bache (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), 106.

³ Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt Vol 2: The Weimar Years* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), 9.

obvious that Carl Alexander, who had initially secured Liszt's appointment with promises of their creating a new golden age for Weimar, was more concerned with preserving the past.⁴ And at times the Grand Duke also expressed uncertainty about Liszt's music.⁵

Nonetheless, Liszt's residency in Weimar provided a rich context in which he would compose the symphonic poems. It is generally known that, as Kapellmeister, Liszt was involved in improving the ensembles, and in conducting concerts and dramatic productions. Yet the extent of his activities and the implications of this for his own compositions have never been fully explored. This chapter will first of all identify the key figures with whom Liszt worked, the extent of their duties, and their artistic outlook, in order to build a general picture of acting styles and artistic preferences on the Weimar stage. It will then explore in detail the main responsibilities of Liszt's role, drawing on unpublished material from the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Weimar, which holds the majority of the documents regarding administration at the Weimar Court Theatre. It will consider the extent of Liszt's involvement in staged performances, in concerts, in choosing repertoire and rehearsing ensembles. All of this will create a more complete impression of Liszt's activities in Weimar, providing an important context for the development of the symphonic poem as a genre, and in particular for the composition of the four symphonic poems which appear as case studies in this thesis.

⁴ Anna Harwell Celenza, 'The Poet, the Pianist, and the Patron: Hans Christian Andersen and Franz Liszt in Carl Alexander's Weimar', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 26, No. 2 (2002), 149.

⁵ For example see Richard Wagner, *My Life*, trans. Andrew Gray, ed. Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 565.

Part One: The Weimar Theatre Management: Personalities and Politics

The Court

During Liszt's time, Germany was a conglomeration of small independent states.⁶ Their governance varied, but many, like Weimar, were dukedoms. Most towns had a court theatre that was subsidised by a patron, prince, or city council.⁷ Weimar's theatre was subsidised by the Grand Duke, and it was run expressly for the court and its circle. The birthdays of the aristocracy were major events in the court's year, as reflected in the musical and theatrical programme. The general public was admitted only on such special occasions. From 2 February 1783 until 8 July 1853 Weimar was governed by the Grand Duke Carl Friedrich, son of the famous Carl August, who had ruled over the town during the glory days of Weimar Classicism, when the theatre was run by Goethe and Schiller. Yet Carl Friedrich lacked both his father's interest in the arts and his money (especially after the revolutions of 1848-9), and consequently Weimar's cultural life was neglected under his reign. Carl Friedrich married Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna of Russia in 1804 and they had four children. Their second-born son,⁸ Carl Alexander, inherited the throne on 28 August 1853.⁹

The theatre relied entirely on the court for financial support and this provoked tensions between the different factions of the theatre management, for there were squabbles over patronage of musical and dramatic productions. At different times it was felt that one was prioritised over the other. The fact that Weimar only had one theatre and no purpose built concert hall (although concerts could be given in the Grand Ducal palace) only exacerbated tensions. Aside from their financial obligations, the court naturally approved appointments,

⁶ Its unification became official on 18 January 1871.

⁷ Christopher Innes, 'The Rise of the Director, 1850-1939' in *A History of German Theatre* ed. Simon Williams and Maik Hamburger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 172.

⁸ Their first born, Paul Alexander died on 10 April 1806.

⁹ Carl Friedrich died on 8 July 1853. The coronation took place on 28 August to coincide with Goethe's birthday.

and was occasionally proactive in this area—as it had been in Liszt’s case. Nonetheless, the running of the theatre was generally left entirely to the artistic direction.

However, court concerts were regularly requested. On these occasions, the Intendant would inform the Kapellmeister who would then draft the programme, which would be communicated to the court on the day of the concert for approval.¹⁰ Specific repertoire requests were made only occasionally. Gottschalg remembered the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna requesting Beethoven’s *Symphony No. 9*, for example, but neither Hummel nor his successor, Chélaré, would conduct it, perhaps because of the relatively small size of the Weimar orchestra.¹¹ She did eventually get her wish when Liszt conducted the work not long into his full-time tenure on 29 August 1849 as part of the celebrations for the Goethe Festival.¹² The Grand Duchess also requested a new opera (this could be a brand new work, such as Wagner’s *Lohengrin*, but more often simply a Weimar premiere) on her birthday. Nonetheless, generally, the court was only really consulted for approval of repertoire when a performance was planned for a special occasion. For example, files in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Weimar reveal that Carl Alexander’s permission was sought for the performance of Schiller’s *Die Huldigung der Künste* at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his mother’s arrival in Weimar.¹³ The court also occasionally commissioned new compositions for particular celebrations, coronations, and anniversaries.

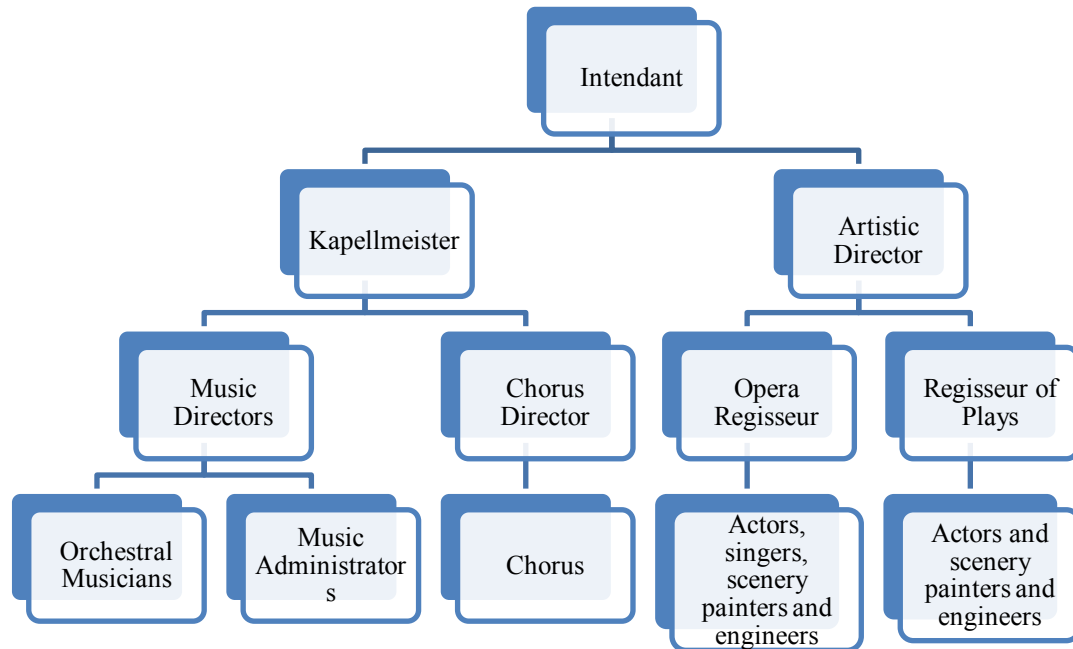
¹⁰ The Hofmarschallamt, ‘Entwurf einer Instruktion für den neuen Intendanten Unseres Hof Theaters’ 3 August 1847, *Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 9566, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

¹¹ A. W. Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar und seine letzten Lebensjahre* (Berlin: pub. unknown, 1910), 3.

¹² See Adolf Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters 1817-1907* (Weimar, 1908), 89.

¹³ Author unknown, ‘Die anlässlich des 50. Jahrestages des Einzuges der Großherzogin Maria Paulowna geplante Aufführung des Huldigung der Künste, 9-21 July 1854’, *Generalintendanz des Deutschen Nationaltheaters (DNT) Weimar*, 1317, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

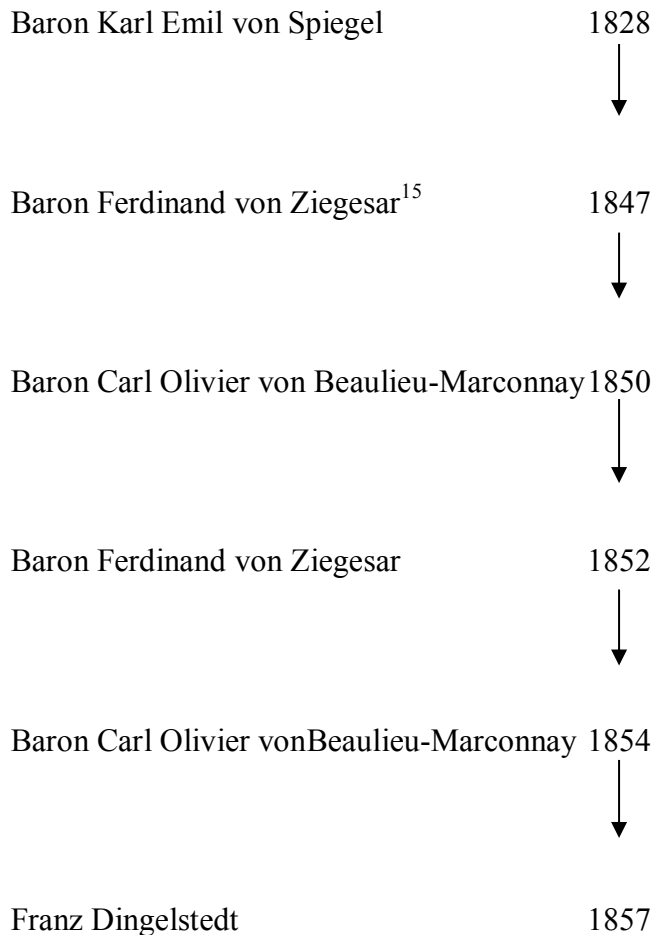
Figure 1: The Main Artistic Positions in the Weimar Court Theatre



As already mentioned, the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Weimar holds the majority of the surviving administrative documents concerning the running and organisation of the Court Theatre. There are several ‘acts’, which the archive dates to the mid-nineteenth century, that set down in great detail the individual roles of the various members of the theatre management. All staff, including the Kapellmeister, were, of course, answerable to the Intendant, who held a position similar to that of today’s director. It was a full-time occupation, and this was unique to Germany at the time. Theatres across the rest of Europe were generally run by an actor-manager. The Intendant was better able to achieve an administrative overview, as, unlike the actor-manager, he was not himself part of the company. This meant that productions were less likely to be subject to the ego of one person

arranging performances to their advantage.¹⁴ During Liszt's tenure in Weimar he worked with the following Intendants:

Figure 2: Timeline of Weimar Intendants



The Intendant was ultimately responsible for every aspect of the running of the theatre and had the final word on all decisions. He was also in charge of appointing or dismissing artistic staff,¹⁶ including the musicians. Liszt, as Kapellmeister, could recommend the

¹⁴ Innes, 'The Rise of the Director...', 174.

¹⁵ Baron Ferdinand von Ziegesar suffered from eye problems, which meant that it was necessary for Baron Carl Olivier von Beaulieu-Marconnay to step in from 1850-2. Ziegesar returned in 1852, but on 5 May 1854 it was announced that he would be granted leave from his role due to the death of his wife, and Beaulieu-Marconnay once again became interim Intendant. Ziegesar never returned to work. He died in 1855, and Beaulieu-Marconnay held the post until the appointment of Dingelstedt on 1 October 1857. See Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters 1817-1907*, 107 and 120 for records of this.

¹⁶ Ronald Hayman (ed.), *The German Theatre: A Symposium* (London: Wolff; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975), 229.

employment of an individual, but he could not employ someone if the Intendant disagreed with his choice.¹⁷ According to the ‘Draft of an Instruction for the new Intendant of our Court Theatre’¹⁸ held at the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv and sent to the Grand Duke Carl Friedrich in 1847, the Intendant had a number of other duties, including,

1. Making sure that all pieces that had been selected for performance were suitable, and evaluating manuscripts and scores offered to the theatre.
2. Preparing pieces for performance by making cuts, additions, and inserts.
3. Scheduling performances.
4. Distributing roles where parts require both singing and acting (otherwise the choice was left to the Kapellmeister and Regisseur respectively).
5. Visiting and taking rehearsals.
6. Choosing props and costumes for performances.
7. Choosing Regisseurs.
8. Letting go of actors whose contracts have expired.
9. Ensuring orderliness and discipline during rehearsals and performances.
10. Engaging visiting artists.

The role seems to have varied, as might be expected, from theatre to theatre and from person to person. Many of the duties above, for example, require technical musical training, and were likely to have been delegated. In some theatres, the Intendant would indeed oversee technical parts of the performance, such as lighting, as well as other artistic aspects, and

¹⁷ Peter Raabe, *Liszts Leben* Vol. 1 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968), 105.

¹⁸ The Hofmarschallamt, ‘Entwurf einer Instruktion für den neuen Intendanten Unseres Hof Theatres’ 3 August 1847, *Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 9566, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

would take rehearsals and coach the actors.¹⁹ But in Weimar, von Ziegesar seems to have interpreted his role primarily as supervisory and administrative. The holdings of the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv contain numerous bills and petitions for von Ziegesar. Following Court Concerts he received individual bills from each of the performers and others involved in the organisation.²⁰ He was also directly involved in settling disagreements between members of his staff. There is a whole file on ‘Streitigkeiten’ or ‘disputes’ in the *Hauptstaatsarchiv*.²¹ Overall, the archival files paint a picture of an Intendant mainly involved in administration. Von Ziegesar left artistic or creative responsibilities, such as coaching actors, taking rehearsals, and giving instructions regarding mise-en-scène to his Regisseur. In contrast, Dingelstedt interpreted the role rather differently when he took over in April 1857.

The *Instruction für den Hofkapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheater* states that, although the Kapellmeister was responsible for drafting programmes for court concerts, these had to be presented to the Intendant for authorisation.²² It seems likely that this regulation was interpreted differently by the various Intendants with whom Liszt worked. Von Ziegesar seems to have entrusted Liszt entirely with programme choices, but a letter from Liszt to Beaulieu-Marconnay, dated 21 May 1855²³ suggests that the interim Intendant occasionally offered his (most likely unwanted) opinion on Liszt’s repertoire choices for the court concerts. The Intendant’s advice was, however, politely ignored, and it seems doubtful that he had much influence over concert programmes.

¹⁹ Innes, ‘The Rise of the Director...’, 172.

²⁰ Various authors, ‘Concerte den Großherzogl. Kapelle für sich selbst und einzelne Mitglieder’ 3 February 1853, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 1311, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

²¹ Various authors, ‘Streitigkeiten unter dem Theater-personal 1852-57’ *Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 9632, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

²² Unknown author, ‘Instruction für den Hofkapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheater’, second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

²³ La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 1 of 8 (Leipzig, 1893-1905), 199. (Letter 137 to Beaulieu-Marconnay, dated 21 May 1855)

Nonetheless, as the Intendant was in charge of the budget and had overall control of the theatre, music publishers would write directly to him rather than the Kapellmeister suggesting scores that they might like to purchase. For example, there is extensive correspondence between von Ziegesar and Breitkopf & Härtel in the files of the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, which includes a bill for scores of Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* and Wagner's *Overture to Rienzi*. At the same time the publishers suggested that the theatre might also like to buy some Verdi Concert Arias.²⁴ Overall, there was scope in the regulations for the Intendant to impose any repertoire choices he liked on the rest of the staff.

The extent to which Liszt could achieve his aims, therefore, very much depended on his relationship with the Intendants, their interpretation of the regulations, and their artistic tastes. Liszt had very different relationships with each of the Intendants with whom he worked in Weimar and he sometimes had to push through his own repertoire choices in the face of not inconsiderable opposition.²⁵ The choices of the Intendant also impacted on Liszt's compositions. Occasionally he had to compose an orchestral work for a dramatic production that he did not admire.²⁶

Liszt's correspondence suggests that his relationship with von Ziegesar was one of mutual respect. They seem to have had similar artistic aims, working closely together on the productions of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* in Weimar. Yet relations were not as warm with von Ziegesar's replacement, Beaulieu-Marconnay, who resented Liszt's growing dominance in the town.²⁷ Beaulieu-Marconnay was much more interested in producing plays than operas,

²⁴ Breitkopf & Härtel, Letter dated 14 February 1850, *Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 9687, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

²⁵ See Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, Vol. 2, Part 2 (Leipzig, 1880-94), 47-8 and William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life* (New York, 1901).

²⁶ This was the compositional context of the symphonic poems *Prometheus* and *Tasso*. See Chapter Two for details.

²⁷ Harwell Celenza, 'The Poet, the Pianist, and the Patron...', 143.

and Liszt found it difficult to persuade the Intendant to devote more time to musical productions.²⁸ Indeed, on 21 January 1852 Hans von Bülow wrote to his father that

Liszt is currently very much impeded in his excellent plans by the interim Intendant, Beaulieu. Next season, however, sees the return of the leadership of Liszt's friend, Herr v. Ziegesar, who is now recovered, and then Wagner's 'Fliegender Holländer', and Gluck's 'Iphigenia in Aulis', in Wagner's arrangement, will be resumed.²⁹

Toward the end of 1854 Liszt and his close band of followers formed the *Neu-Weimar-Verein* or *New Weimar Association*. Musicians, poets, and visual artists were invited to join the association, which aimed to combat artistic conservatism through its newspaper, *Die Laterne*.³⁰ Liszt was elected president, and the court poet, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, as vice-president. But Beaulieu-Marconnay was excluded from membership of the club, as the Intendant was seen as representing Weimar's past.³¹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, Beaulieu-Marconnay was disparaging about Liszt's abilities as a composer, but he appears even to have had the support of the Grand Duke Carl Alexander in this opinion. In *My Life* Wagner recalled a visit he had paid to the Grand Duke in Lucerne on 23 June 1858, which, he wrote, 'afforded me an interesting insight into this princely relationship of my friend':

It was noticeable that his [the Grand Duke's] dignity was not at all disturbed by the fatuous remarks that Herr von Beaulieu interjected in our conversation in an extremely dry tone of voice. After the Grand Duke had interrogated me in carefully chosen words as to my 'real opinion' of Liszt's compositions, I was then utterly amazed to find him not in the slightest put out when his Chamberlain bluntly expressed extremely derogatory opinions of the man who was the Duke's highly esteemed friend, claiming in particular that Liszt's composing was nothing more than a whim of the great virtuoso.³²

Overall, Beaulieu-Marconnay interfered much more with Liszt's plans than his predecessor had. Unsurprisingly, during Beaulieu-Marconnay's time Liszt occasionally

²⁸ Leonhard Schrickel, *Geschichte des Weimar Theaters von seinen Anfängen bis Heute* (Pub. Unknown, Weimar, 1928), 202.

²⁹ Marie von Bülow (ed.), *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften* Vol. 1 of 6 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895), 413. (Letter 120 to his Father, 21 January 1852) My translation of: Liszt ist in seinen großartigen Plänen jetzt sehr gehemmt durch den interimistischen Intendanten Beaulieu. In der nächsten Saison beginnt jedoch wieder des Regiment des reconvaleszenten Freundes von Liszt, Herr v. Ziegesar's, und da wird mit Wagner's „fliegendem Holländer“ und Gluck's „Iphigenia in Aulis“, mit Wagner's Bearbeitung, wieder angefangen.

³⁰ Adelheid von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar unter der Regierungszeit Karl Friedrichs und Maria Paulownas* (Weimar, 1911-12), 40.

³¹ Anna Harwell Celenza, 'The Poet, the Pianist, and the Patron...', 148.

³² Wagner, *My Life*, 565.

complained about the opera repertoire that was chosen.³³ Beaulieu-Marconnay also insisted on upholding the tradition of performing entr'actes during performances of plays, which Liszt abhorred but was not successful in stamping out.³⁴

Yet if Liszt found Beaulieu-Marconnay difficult to work with, he was to find it impossible to work with his replacement. The appointment of Franz Dingelstedt created further obstacles to Liszt carrying out his plans. Dingelstedt had already made a name for himself before coming to Weimar as a talented director at the Munich theatre between 1851 and 1857.³⁵ His interpretation of the role of Intendant was much more hands-on than either von Ziegesar or Beaulieu-Marconnay. He directed many plays himself and took a much more active role in creative decisions. He also took great care in developing the visual side of his productions, working closely with scenery painters and costume designers.³⁶ He was concerned with attention to detail, creating historically accurate sets. In this way his work paralleled the broader interest in realism that was replacing the Romantic concern for beauty in German theatres in the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁷ Yet, at the same time he aimed at creating a sense of spectacle with ambitious scenery, and was concerned overall with creating a sense of ensemble.³⁸ In this he was influenced by Wagner's ideas on 'Gesamtkunstwerk.' The high point of Dingelstedt's time in Weimar (between 1857 and 1867) was his productions of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and a cycle of the Histories

³³ See Hanjo Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1988), 294. (Letter 113 from Liszt to Wagner dated 19 May 1853)

³⁴ See Chapter Four and Part Two of this chapter for more on Liszt's views on the practice.

³⁵ See Marvin Carlson, 'The realistic theatre and bourgeois values, 1750-1900' in *A History of German Theatre* ed. Williams and Hamburger, 110-111 for details.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 110.

³⁷ See Simon Williams, *German Actors of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: idealism, romanticism and realism* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood, 1985) for a detailed account of aesthetic trends on the German stage during the period.

³⁸ Carlson, 'The realistic theatre and bourgeois values, 1750-1900', 110-111.

presented over a week on successive evenings in 1864.³⁹ He also published a German translation of Shakespeare's works in 1867.⁴⁰

Undoubtedly the spoken-theatre of Weimar improved under Dingelstedt. He came to the post with a clear and progressive artistic agenda and ambitious plans, much as Liszt had done in 1848. His choice of repertoire reflected a greater interest in the classics, particularly Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Hebbel and Grillparzer, whereas under previous Intendants a season's programme would be saturated by numerous plays by minor German playwrights who are scarcely remembered today. He gave many Weimar premieres⁴¹ and quickly made several new appointments to the company.⁴² Liszt took an interest in Dingelstedt's work in the theatre, sitting in on rehearsals for the performance of Hebbel's *Genoveva* that Dingelstedt was preparing over the summer of 1858.⁴³

Yet, improvements in the spoken theatre were to the detriment of musical productions. Shortly before Dingelstedt took up the role of Intendant, it was announced on 18 September 1857 that the title of the role would be changed from 'Großherzogliche Hoftheater-Intendanz' to 'Großherzogliche General Intendanz des Hoftheaters und der Hofkapelle',⁴⁴ which effectively reinforced Dingelstedt's authority over both the theatre and the orchestra. Liszt had always felt that Carl Alexander was more interested in poetry and drama than in music.⁴⁵ Dingelstedt naturally shared this preference, and from this point on Liszt found it increasingly difficult to push through his choices of repertoire.

³⁹ Ibid., 110.

⁴⁰ Dirk Delabastita and Lieven d'Hulst (eds.), *European Shakespeares: Translating Shakespeare in the Romantic Age* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993), 52.

⁴¹ For details see Rudolf Roenneke, *Franz Dingelstedts Wirksamkeit am Weimarer Hoftheater: ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, PhD diss. (Greifswald University, 1912), 35-42.

⁴² Ibid., 35.

⁴³ Ibid., 43. The incidental music for this play was arranged by Carl Stör from Schumann's opera *Genoveva*.

⁴⁴ Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters*, 121.

⁴⁵ Celenza, 'The Poet, the Pianist, and the Patron...', 146.

For example, in January 1858 Wagner wrote to Liszt: ‘From the Princess I see you have to use all manner of stealth to get *Rienzi* accepted at the Weimar theatre.’⁴⁶ *Rienzi* was finally performed on 26 December 1860, having been greatly delayed by Dingelstedt.⁴⁷ Yet, this was not because of differing artistic ideas between Dingelstedt and Liszt (in fact, Dingelstedt had a great admiration for Wagner, and had actually been dismissed from the Munich Court Theatre because of the expense of his elaborate production of *Tannhäuser*⁴⁸), but rather because Dingelstedt was in charge of the budget and apportioned a much smaller part of it to musical than dramatic productions.⁴⁹ In the end it became impossible for Liszt to work with Dingelstedt, when the latter famously organised a noisy demonstration at the premiere of Peter Cornelius’s *The Barber of Baghdad*, which Liszt was conducting.⁵⁰ Dingelstedt feigned innocence on this matter, asking Liszt on 19 January 1859 if he had read the report in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which claimed that differences with Dingelstedt had led to Liszt’s resignation. Dingelstedt asked to know if this were true and, if so, what these differences were.⁵¹ Liszt ignored him. Dingelstedt wrote again on the 21st repeating the questions and complaining that he had been attacked in the most shameful manner in the newspapers.⁵² Again Liszt remained silent. He refused to return to the theatre, but continued to conduct concerts in the palace until the summer of 1861, after which he completely retreated from musical life in Weimar.

⁴⁶ Translation in Francis Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt* (Cirencester: The Echo Library, 2005), 329 of the original German in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 548 ‘Aus den Mitteilungen der Fürstin ersehe ich nun, daß Du Dich mit dem Rienzi völlig auf das weimarische Theater zu stehlen hast’ (Letter 259 from Wagner to Liszt, end of January 1858)

⁴⁷ Roenneke, *Franz Dingelstedts Wirksamkeit am Weimarer Hoftheater*, 49.

⁴⁸ Innes, ‘The Rise of the Director...’, 180.

⁴⁹ Roenneke, *Franz Dingelstedts Wirksamkeit am Weimarer Hoftheater*, 50.

⁵⁰ Dingelstedt, characteristically, had been reluctant to make room for the opera within the theatre season and was generally blamed by Liszt and others (including Cornelius himself) for organizing the protest (which was directed more against Liszt than Cornelius) and then doing nothing to restore order. See Peter Cornelius, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnfeld Verlag, 1938), 239-40.

⁵¹ La Mara (ed.), *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt* Vol. 2 of 3 (Leipzig, 1895, 1904), 199. (Letter 126 from Franz Dingelstedt, 19 January 1859)

⁵² *Ibid.*, 200. (Letter 127 from Dingelstedt, 21 January 1859)

The Regisseur

Many of the duties in the draft instructions for the Intendant (which, given the date of August 1847, were likely written following the appointment of von Ziegesar) were in reality undertaken by the Regisseur or Stage Manager. During Liszt's tenure in Weimar, this post was filled by the singer-actor Eduard Genast (1797-1866). His role overlapped quite considerably with Liszt's, they worked closely together to bring about the performance of operas.

At Weimar, there were two types of Regisseur: those in charge of opera and those in charge of plays. Genast's memoirs suggest that, as stage manager, he was mostly involved in opera.⁵³ Genast had long been a leading member of both the operatic and acting company.⁵⁴ He had grown up in Weimar at a time when Goethe was Intendant and Genast's father was Regisseur. Goethe was involved in Genast's development, helping him find roles for which he was suited⁵⁵ and giving his feedback after hearing Genast recite different roles.⁵⁶ He was, therefore, trained in the classical style that aimed at portraying the ideal, presenting a view of humanity without the base, crude elements of everyday life. In order to create this illusion Goethe required his actors to aim for beauty and harmony in their elegant movements and use of the voice. Goethe also asked that actors avoid a conversational tone. Rather they should emphasise verse, and pronounce each syllable clearly, pausing at the end of each line. This created an effect that was more akin to song than everyday speech.⁵⁷ After engagements at the Hofoper in Dresden and in Leipzig, Genast returned to Weimar in January 1829, remaining there for the rest of his career. He took on the additional role of Opera Regisseur on

⁵³ Eduard Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Robert Lutz, 1904), 346.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 224-5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 135-7

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 136

⁵⁷ Williams, *German Actors of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 42-3.

3 March 1833,⁵⁸ but continued to perform with the Weimar ensemble as both actor and singer. His role, therefore, seems to have been similar to that of the actor-manager that could be found across the rest of Europe at the time.

The Regisseur enjoyed a very important position within the theatre and worked closely with the Kapellmeister. They took some rehearsals together (a fuller description of rehearsals can be found below), and were required to make certain decisions together (if they could not agree, the Intendant would step in).⁵⁹ As well as coaching the actors, ordering the appropriate scenery and costumes, and making a 'Regiebuch' or Prompt Book, the Regisseur was also a censor. He was required to read through the texts of new operas and delete anything that 'breaches religious teaching, customs and decorum or local considerations which it is the duty of the administration to observe'.⁶⁰

Liszt's letters to Wagner, and Genast's own memoirs, reveal that they worked well together. Genast was in charge of the mise-en-scène and of rehearsing the singers in the Weimar productions of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*.⁶¹ He remembered these experiences fondly in his memoirs, writing that taking rehearsals with Liszt was not only his duty but a higher pleasure.⁶² Indeed, Genast's memoirs are very complimentary to Liszt. He supported him as a conductor, writing that they had the same goals—to bring new and worthy works of art before the public, without forgetting the old. He also praises Liszt's approach to

⁵⁸ Wolfram Hushke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar, 1756-1861* (Weimar, 1982), 76.

⁵⁹ Unknown author, 'Instruction für den Oper Regisseur', dated to the second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 66, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

⁶⁰ Ibid. My translation of 'Texte von neuen Opern, welche einem Regisseur zur Regieführung zugetheilt werden, hat dieser sofort auch einmal mit größter Genauigkeit zu durchlesen und aus denselben Alles zu entfernen, durch welches gegen Religion, Sitte und Anstand oder gegen locale Rücksichten, welche zu beobachten Pflicht der Verwaltung ist, verstoßen wird.'

⁶¹ Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 112. (Letter 35, mid- July 1850).

⁶² Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 320.

conducting, not merely acting as a metronome, but as an artist bent on bringing out nuances.⁶³

Genast was certainly an ally for Liszt in Weimar.

Nonetheless, Wagner appeared to believe that the Regisseur was not capable of realising his and Liszt's goals. He noted that Genast 'arranges things in a general way, and justly leaves it to the individual actors to find out for themselves what concerns them only.'⁶⁴ In other circumstances, Wagner suggested that he would have approved Genast's approach, believing that actors should be able to interpret the text themselves. Yet, he doubted the capabilities of Weimar's actors, and thought that Genast should give them more artistic direction. To this end he recommended that Genast should call a reading rehearsal and 'from the remarks therein inserted [in the score] explain to the singers the meaning of the situations and their connection to the music bar by bar.'⁶⁵ Overall, Wagner felt that Genast needed to be replaced: 'To speak plainly, you want a good stage-manager. Genast is a splendid fellow, but he has grown old in routine; he does not know, and will never understand, what has to be done.'⁶⁶ Genast's classical style would probably have meant that he focussed upon making the movements of the actors and their voices appear as harmonious as possible. In suggesting that the actors should closely study the meaning of the text Wagner seemed to advocate a more naturalist approach to acting. And the (unsurprising) emphasis on the connection of text to

⁶³ Ibid., 314

⁶⁴ Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 61. (Letter 41, 8 September 1850) The original reads: 'Ich finde es zu begreiflich, daß er im Freundesfeier auch für dieses mein Werk sich eben nur auf dem richtigen Standpunkte des Regisseurs bewegte, der im allgemeinen seine Anordnungen trifft, und mit Recht es den einzelnen Darstellern überläßt, das, was gerade nur sie betrifft, auch durch sie selbst auffinden zu lassen. See Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 132.

⁶⁵ Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 63. (Letter 41, 8 September 1850). The original reads: 'Möge Genast...das sämtliche darstellende Personal noch einmal zu einer *Leseprobe* zusammenberufen: die Sänger mögen aus den gedruckten Textbüchern (in denen sich leider viele Druckfehler vorfinden) ihre Rollen im Zusammenhange deutlich und mit Ausdrücke *vorlesen*: Genast nehme dazu die *Partitur*, weise die Sänger aus den darin befindlichen Bemerkungen genau auf die Bedeutung der Situationen und auf ihren ganz bestimmten Zusammenhang mit der Musik Takt für Takt hin'. See Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel* 134-5.

⁶⁶ Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 94. (Letter 61, 22 May 1851). The original reads: 'Gerade herausgesagt: Ihr bedürft eines tüchtigen Regisseurs. Genast ist ein ganz prächtiger Kerl: aber er ist in der *Routine* ergraut; er weiß nicht und wird nicht begreifen, worauf es hier ankommt' Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 180.

music suggests that he felt the actors should have a wider sense of the production as a whole. Genast was nearing the end of his career at a time when German acting styles were undergoing substantial change. Although he supported Liszt, his style was dated and so there was only so much he could do to help Liszt's project. It is doubtful that his classical style would have influenced Liszt, who seems to have preferred a more dramatic, realistic approach.⁶⁷

The Artistic Director

On 15 September 1852 von Ziegesar made a further appointment to the Theatre Management: the actor Heinrich Marr was made 'artistischen Theaterdirektor'.⁶⁸ Already well-known as a talented actor, Marr, like Liszt, was a high-profile artist who was enticed by ambitious plans and promises of financial support which the court did not have the means to deliver. Genast remembers Marr's duties including: 'Direktor des Schauspiels' (Director of Plays) and 'in der Oper zum Oberregisseur' (Senior Regisseur of Opera). Genast, having managed the opera for almost twenty years, found it difficult suddenly to be subordinate to Marr, particularly as he felt Marr had little musical knowledge, whereas Genast was both a singer and composer.⁶⁹

Yet, Marr brought a new style of acting to the Weimar stage. He was committed to realism—his gestures and speech based on everyday life. It was said that he 'lived the role', but that his modern, realistic approach was united with some of Goethe's teaching in his 'civilised demeanour'.⁷⁰ His style greatly contrasted that of Genast, and he could therefore have had a positive influence on Liszt's productions had he not been indifferent to music.

⁶⁷ See Chapter Five

⁶⁸ Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters*, 100.

⁶⁹ He mentions composing at Weimar in his memoirs, for example see Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 244.

⁷⁰ Paul Alfred Merbach, *Heinrich Marr 1797-1871: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Theaters im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Verlag von Leopold Voss, 1926), 170.

Richard Pohl, in fact, took a critical view of Marr in an article for *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in which he claimed that although Marr wrote for theatrical publications about Weimar productions, he never mentioned any musical achievements.⁷¹ Marr's attitude toward music seems to have led to difficult relations between himself and Liszt.⁷²

Overall Marr appears to have been extremely unpleasant. His rehearsals were described as 'diktatorisch'⁷³ and he had an enormous ego. In the end he was dismissed because he behaved in such an insulting and threatening way to Beaulieu-Marconnay. He was actually sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment as a result of his behaviour, which was eventually converted into a fine of 84 Thalers.⁷⁴

At Weimar, Liszt had to work with a variety of personalities on the dramatic staff, who each brought their different artistic approaches. Generally Goethe's classicism still prevailed on the Weimar stage, nurtured by Genast until Marr and then Dingelstedt appeared, importing a more modern realism. Furthermore, with the exception of von Ziegesar and Genast, the majority of the dramatic staff were indifferent towards music, and this also, of course, impacted on Liszt.

⁷¹ Richard Pohl, 'Reisebriefe aus Thüringen II' in *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 24, 9 June 1854.

⁷² The Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv holds correspondence between Marr, Beaulieu-Marconnay and Liszt that documents a dispute over who was to use the theatre for rehearsals. Marr protested when Liszt wrote to Beaulieu-Marconnay on 9 March 1854 to ensure that the theatre would be free for his rehearsal of Weber's *Euryanthe*, which was shortly to be performed. Liszt requested that 'die artistische Direktion zu Hause bleibe!' [the artistic direction stay at home!] See Beaulieu-Marconnay, Marr, and Liszt, 'Briefwechsel zwischen dem Intendant des Theaters in Weimar, Frhr. von Beaulieu-Marconnay und dem künstlerischen Direktor Heinrich Marr, über Benachteiligung des letzteren zugunsten des außerordentlichen Kapellmeisters Franz Liszt' 1854, *Bestand Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 9633, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar. Accordingly, when Beaulieu-Marconnay wrote to Marr explaining his intention to let Liszt use the theatre, Marr objected, saying that it was insulting to have to submit 'to the whims of a clown.' See Schrickel, *Geschichte des Weimar Theaters*, 204. My translation of 'um der Laune eines Hanswurstes (!) zu fröhnen'

⁷³ Merbach, *Heinrich Marr 1797-1871*, 172.

⁷⁴ Schrickel, *Geschichte des Weimar Theaters*, 204-5.

Musical Staff: Kapellmeister Chélard

When Liszt was first appointed ‘Kapellmeister in Extraordinary’ in 1842, Weimar already had a full-time Kapellmeister: the French composer André Hyppolyte Chélard, who was Hummel’s successor. Chélard has been treated unfairly by Liszt scholarship. Alan Walker tells us that ‘he was barely competent, and there were many witnesses to the havoc his baton could create when complex works were being performed.’⁷⁵ Wolfram Huschke tells a similar story of how Chélard was an unpopular Kapellmeister and appointed as a last resort. Huschke suggests that misgivings over Chélard’s poor piano playing and his limited grasp of the German language initially prevented the court from offering him the post, but they eventually proposed a temporary contract from 20 March 1840 until 1 July 1840⁷⁶ to see out the rest of the season.

Nonetheless, this supposedly ‘unpopular’ Kapellmeister managed to retain his role for the next eleven years, after which he spent his retirement in Weimar receiving a pension until his death in 1861.⁷⁷ Huschke suggests that this was merely because there was no other appropriate figure to take up the Weimar baton, yet this seems unlikely. According to Sarah Hibberd and Brian Primmer, writers uninfluenced by Lisztian partisanship, ‘as an opera conductor and general music director he [Chélard] was known to be first-rate’.⁷⁸ And although his opera, *Macbeth*, had not been well-received in Paris, Chélard had achieved considerable success in Germany. His operas *Macbeth*, *Mitternacht*, *Der Student*, and *Der Hermannsschlacht* were very popular in Munich.⁷⁹ And from 1829 to 1841 *Macbeth* was

⁷⁵ Walker, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 99.

⁷⁶ Hushcke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 97.

⁷⁷ See Walker, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 498.

⁷⁸ Sarah Hibberd and Brian Primmer, ‘Chelard, Hippolyte-André (-Jean)-Baptiste’ in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. 5 of 29 (2nd edn, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 559-60.

⁷⁹ The success of some of Chélard’s productions are recorded in Max Zenger, *Geschichte Münchner Oper* ed. Theodor Kroyer (Munich, 1923), 233-4 and 227.

performed in Darmstadt, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Strasbourg, Augsburg, Budapest, Weimar and Hamburg.⁸⁰ As well as forging a reputation as an opera composer throughout the 1830s, Chélaré also gained experience as a theatre and concert director. In 1831 he was invited to conduct the Thuringian music festival with Hummel, and in 1832 he was invited to London in the capacity of music director of German opera. There he conducted significant works from the German repertoire, including *Der Freischütz*, as well as his own operas. From 1834 he became Kapellmeister in Augsburg.⁸¹ His experience would have made him a strong candidate for the post of Kapellmeister in Weimar.

Chélaré was also remembered fondly by Berlioz in his memoirs, in which the latter included a letter to Liszt from 1841. In this letter Berlioz writes that Chélaré encouraged him to visit Weimar, mentioning that ‘Chélaré, like a true artist, and also as compatriot and old friend, did everything possible to help me achieve my ends.’ He informed Liszt that ‘The Weimar orchestra is a good one’ and that Chélaré had found extra players for Berlioz’s visit. It also became clear that Chélaré had already been promoting Berlioz’s music in Weimar, and the orchestra had already performed some of it, for Berlioz

discovered among the Weimar musicians a healthily developed passion for my *Francs jupes* overture, which they had performed several times; so they were very well disposed towards me, and contrary to my usual experience I really enjoyed rehearsing the *Fantastic Symphony*, which I had again chosen, at their request. To be understood immediately like this is a rare joy.⁸²

A very different image of Chélaré therefore begins to emerge—that of a skilled conductor who had successfully introduced new repertoire outside of the traditional canon, and of an opera composer whose works had achieved great success in Germany. Liszt could not claim either of these things. His failure to compose an opera, despite efforts to complete

⁸⁰ Annette Vosteen, ‘Chélaré, André Hippolyte (Jean Baptiste)’ in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher 2nd ed. Vol. 4 (Personenteil) of 21 (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1994-), 819.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 819.

⁸² Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz* trans. and ed. David Cairns (London: Victor Gollancz, 1970), 298-90.

Sardanapale, has been extensively documented in Liszt literature.⁸³ Equally, prior to Weimar, Liszt had very limited experience as a conductor and the court orchestra initially found him difficult to follow, complaining that he could not keep time properly.⁸⁴ Chélaré had far more experience in this area, and if anything, this must have reflected badly on Liszt rather than the other way around.

Nonetheless, Liszt scholarship continues to paint Chélaré as an incompetent and unpopular conductor who was somehow 'shown up' by the greater musician. Hushcke informs us that Chélaré's incompetence as a conductor (he claims that a failed *Magic Flute* performance caused embarrassment) and his neglect of German repertoire in favour of French and Italian antagonised his colleagues.⁸⁵ According to Hushcke, it was this incompetence that forced his retreat from the Weimar stage. Hushcke informs us that on 24 September 1847 the then Intendant Ferdinand von Ziegesar wrote to Chélaré requesting that the Kapellmeister, who Hushcke suggests had long avoided the baton, prove himself by conducting a symphonic concert.⁸⁶ Hushcke does not reveal the outcome of this, but tells us that tensions continued to grow until 10 April 1850 when von Ziegesar encouraged Chélaré to resign. Chélaré's 'dismissal' was not made official until 17 April 1851.⁸⁷ Hushcke neglects to mention that in 1851 Chélaré was 62 years old, and may well have wanted to retire then anyway.

⁸³ See Kenneth Hamilton, 'Not with a bang, but a whimper: The death of Liszt's *Sardanapale*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8, 1 (1996), 45-58 for details.

⁸⁴ Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar*, 4. This was a common criticism of Liszt's conducting style, and a product of his belief that the conductor should avoid being mechanical and instead, emphasise the poetical. He invented a wide range of new movements especially for this task, approaching the role of conductor in the spirit of a concerto soloist. For a detailed discussion of Liszt's conducting style see Hugh Macdonald, 'Liszt the Conductor' in *Beethoven's Century* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 65-78 or José Antonio Bowen, 'The rise of conducting' in *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting* ed. José Antonio Bowen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 93-113.

⁸⁵ Hushcke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 98.

⁸⁶ Wolfram Hushcke, *Franz Liszt Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar* (Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft, 2010), 77.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 77.

This portrayal of Chélard has generally been accepted in Liszt scholarship, and it is true that there are several accounts of the Kapellmeister's poor conducting. Yet, these stories originated from members of Liszt's circle, and were probably motivated by the belief that Chélard represented 'Old Weimar'.⁸⁸ This was especially unfair as, in many ways, Chélard's music foreshadowed that of Liszt and Berlioz in its use of harmony, orchestration and melodic traits. In fact, Christopher Alan Reynolds has noticed a close similarity between the opening theme of Liszt's *Faust Symphony* and the recitative and trio for three witches near the beginning of Chélard's *Macbeth*.⁸⁹ *Macbeth* was certainly produced in Weimar several times whilst Liszt was there.⁹⁰ Nonetheless, von Ziegesar, Genast, and the close circle of musicians and pupils surrounding Liszt seem to have taken against Chélard. Criticisms of Chélard often took the form of reports sent to Liszt whilst he was away from Weimar. They perhaps served as a way of reassuring Liszt that he was missed, and usually ended with a plea for the master to return home as soon as possible and save the orchestra from Chélard.

For example, the story of the 'failed *Magic Flute* performance' that Huschke cites originated with Joachim Raff, Liszt's amanuensis, who wrote to Liszt in 1851,

Our theatre gets worse every day! We have just had two performances of *Freischütz* and *Zauberflöte*, and the blunders that occurred were such as to offend the ears of...the most unmusical listeners, many of whom left the house before the end of the opera.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Vosteen, 'Chelard...', 819.

⁸⁹ See Christopher Alan Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2003), 57-8.

⁹⁰ The existing playbills show that *Macbeth* was performed several times throughout the 1830s before Liszt arrived in Weimar. It was then performed twice in the first year of his tenure: on 25 November and 26 December 1848. After this, due to the hostility of Liszt's supporters towards Chélard, only the overture was heard in performances of the play alongside Stör's incidental music on 11 October and 15 November 1856. But the opera was revived once Liszt had resigned from the Weimar stage on 21 October 1860. After this it received two further performances in quick succession in November 1860 and January 1861. See [http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/servlets/MCRSearchServlet?mode=results&id=-1c8mwx6d7p5hh2k5yosa&numPerPage=20&mask=editor_form_search-performance.xml&query=\(propertytitle%20contains%20%22macbeth%22\)%20AND%20\(entitylinktext%20contains%20%22chelard%22\)%20AND%20\(objectType%20=%20%22performance%22\)&maxResults=0&date.sortField.1=ascending&XSL.Style=listView](http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/servlets/MCRSearchServlet?mode=results&id=-1c8mwx6d7p5hh2k5yosa&numPerPage=20&mask=editor_form_search-performance.xml&query=(propertytitle%20contains%20%22macbeth%22)%20AND%20(entitylinktext%20contains%20%22chelard%22)%20AND%20(objectType%20=%20%22performance%22)&maxResults=0&date.sortField.1=ascending&XSL.Style=listView) [accessed 23/05/2012]

⁹¹ Quoted in Walker, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 99.

Similarly, von Bülow recalled in October 1851 that Liszt had returned to Weimar during a performance of Spontini's *Cortez*, which Chélaré was conducting. Bülow complains that the performance had been poor, but now worsened as the news that Liszt had arrived reached the orchestra pit. He writes that Liszt 'would have liked to seize the sceptre from his humdrum deputy' and Bülow himself wished that Liszt had done so.⁹² Von Bülow suggests that the orchestra were completely in awe of Liszt and that his conducting was a vast improvement on Chélaré's. Yet, on balance, it appears that such stories were greatly exaggerated by Liszt's circle, if not entirely fabricated, simply because of the factions between 'Old' and 'New Weimar'.

The Weimar Court initially attempted to separate Liszt's and Chélaré's roles, probably to stop Chélaré feeling sidelined. Liszt's role as Kapellmeister 'in Extraordinary' was naturally an honorary position. It tied him to Weimar, ensuring that he return regularly to perform and conduct concerts, but it was Chélaré who was in charge of the day-to-day conducting of the orchestra and planning of programmes. Initially, Liszt was to spend a few months in Weimar every Spring, and conduct and play in the festivities on 2 February (the birthday of the Grand Duke Carl Friedrich), 16 February (the birthday of the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna) and 8 April (the birthday of the hereditary Grand Duchess Princess Sophie of the Netherlands).⁹³

The duties were split between dramatic performances, for which Chélaré was responsible, and concerts (particularly court concerts, as the court naturally wanted to hear and see their new star), which were in Liszt's domain.⁹⁴ The same orchestra was used for

⁹² Quoted in *Ibid.*, 171.

⁹³ von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar*, 29.

⁹⁴ Walker, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 96.

concert performances and dramatic performances,⁹⁵ so it had to be shared, as did the theatre—there was no separate concert hall. Rehearsals of the purely musical sometimes clashed with those of the dramatic, and this was purportedly a source of tension between the two men.⁹⁶ Yet, Chélaré was naturally still very much in charge during this period. After conducting the court orchestra and playing in the concerts of January and February 1844,⁹⁷ Liszt disappeared from the town for the next four years despite repeated petitions from the hereditary Grand Duke for his return.⁹⁸ During this time, aside from a brief return for a charity concert that he conducted and played in on 22 February 1846, Liszt left the orchestra entirely to Chélaré.⁹⁹ The two men shared the conducting of the concert in 1846. As agreed, Chélaré conducted the work that contained dramatic elements: David's *Die Wüste*. The repertoire was as follows:

⁹⁵ Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 315.

⁹⁶ Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 96.

⁹⁷ For a full list of the repertoire for these concerts see Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 196-7. The conductorship of the first of these concerts was shared with Chélaré. Liszt conducted the first half and Chélaré the second.

⁹⁸ For example see La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander, Grossherzog von Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1909), 14 and 15.

⁹⁹ Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 198.

Figure 3: Playbill for Liszt's Concert in Weimar: 22 February 1846

WEIMAR.

Sonntag den 22. Februar 1846.

K o n z e r t

zum Besten des

Hof-Kapell-Witwen-Pensions-Fonds

im

Großherzoglichen Hof-Theater.

Erste Abtheilung,
dirigirt vom Herrn Kapellmeister **D. Liszt.**

- 1) Waverley, Ouverture von Berlioz.
- 2) Schwerting, der Sachsenherzog, Ballade von Ebert, in Musik gesetzt von C. Genast, gesungen von Herrn Höfer.
- 3) Scene aus Tell für Oboe von Foreit, gespielt vom Hofmusikus Abbas.
- 4) Konzert für Pianoforte op. 73 von L. van Beethoven, vorgetragen vom Herrn Kapellmeister **D. Liszt.**
- 5) Ouverture zu Oberon von C. M. von Weber.

Zweite Abtheilung,
dirigirt vom Herrn Kapellmeister **Chelard.**

- 6) **Die Wüste**, Ode-Symphonie in drei Abtheilungen mit declamirten Strophen, Gesängen und Chören von F. David. Die Strophen und Gesänge werden von den Herren Genast und Rissen vorgetragen.

Der Text zu dieser „Ode-Symphonie“ ist an der Kasse für 2 Sgr. zu haben.

Preise der Plätze:

Balkon	— 21 Sgr.	Parterre	— 11 Sgr.
Parquet-Sperrsiße	— 21 Sgr.	Gallerie-Loge	— 8 Sgr.
Parterre-Loge	— 16 Sgr.	Gallerie	— 5 Sgr.
Parquet	— 16 Sgr.		

Anfang halb 7 Uhr. Ende gegen 9 Uhr.

Das Theater wird um 5 Uhr geöffnet.

The choice of an early Berlioz piece, the *Waverley Overture*, amongst the repertoire for this concert is interesting. Although Liszt conducted this work, his long absence from Weimar and Chélaré's enthusiasm for Berlioz suggest that it was Chélaré's choice. Chélaré presumably would have taken rehearsals and arranged the concert programme in Liszt's absence only to hand the baton over to him when he arrived for the concert.

In February 1848 Liszt arrived in Weimar expecting to take up his position full-time. He now wished to conduct staged as well as concert works. This may have caused some tension given the original division of duties and Chélaré's wealth of experience in the theatre compared to Liszt's. There are very few references to Chélaré in Liszt's correspondence, so it is difficult to ascertain the nature of their relationship. Lina Ramann does however provide an insight in her notes in *Lisztiana*. She records an anecdote told to her by Princess Wittgenstein. The Princess remarked on Liszt's temper during the early Weimar years, providing an example of how when Liszt had disagreed with Chélaré on a musical matter he had held Chélaré by the ears until they were in agreement. Breathing heavily Liszt let go and cried out, 'N'ai-je pas été modéré?!' ['Haven't I been reasonable?!'] Ramann concludes that 'in fine irony and in memory of those heated hours the next day the gracious Chélaré sent Liszt a picture of himself with the words 'N'ai-je pas été modéré?!' underneath'.¹⁰⁰ If this account is anything to go by, Chélaré behaved with surprising tolerance towards Liszt. Yet, from 1848 the hostile treatment Chélaré received from Liszt's supporters saw him increasingly retreat from the Weimar stage.¹⁰¹ Chélaré was pushed out by the "progressive party", seemingly because they wanted to align themselves with Liszt and encourage him to take a more active role in the theatre. Similar artistic squabbles would continue to dog Liszt's tenure until his resignation in December 1859, when he was the one who was pushed out.

¹⁰⁰ Lina Ramann, *Lisztiana* (Mainz: Schott, 1983), 93.

¹⁰¹ Vosteen, 'Chelard', 819.

Finally, throughout his time in Weimar, Liszt had two music directors to whom he could delegate a variety of tasks. When he first took up the post in 1842, these were Carl Eberwein and Carl Franz Götze. Eberwein was later replaced by Carl Stör on 19 November 1851. He had previously been one of the court's chamber musicians.¹⁰² Eduard Lassen took over from Götze on 1 January 1857,¹⁰³ and eventually became Kapellmeister in 1861 after Liszt's resignation in December 1858.¹⁰⁴ The Music Directors were there to assist the Kapellmeister in a variety of duties. Their main responsibilities included taking rehearsals and conducting performances that the Kapellmeister could not attend, composing incidental music and short occasion pieces, and copying scores and parts.¹⁰⁵

Götze was supposedly reliable but uninspiring as a conductor.¹⁰⁶ Previously a talented tenor in the Weimar Company, he also took on the position of Singing Master.¹⁰⁷ This was a role that Liszt himself sometimes also performed, particularly when the company were putting on a Wagner opera, for which he would spend a great deal of time going through the score with the lead singers.¹⁰⁸ Carl Stör was the main substitute conductor whenever Liszt disappeared from Weimar for a considerable length of time, as he was sometimes prone to do. Stör and Götze also played in the Weimar Court Orchestra—in his list of the makeup of the

¹⁰² Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters*, 96. Eberwein did conduct another concert on 28 October 1852 to celebrate his fifty years of service to the Court orchestra (See Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters*, 100.)

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁰⁴ It is interesting that even though Liszt did not conduct any operas from 1859-61 and only conducted a few concerts he still retained the title 'Kapellmeister in Extraordinary', whilst Lassen remained 'Music Director' even though he was doing the work of a Kapellmeister.

¹⁰⁵ Unknown author, 'Instruction für den Musik-Dirigenten des Großherzog. Hoftheaters', second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 64, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

¹⁰⁶ Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar*, 13.

¹⁰⁷ Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 181. (Letter 61 from Wagner to Liszt dated 22 May 1851)

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 262 (Letter 97 from Liszt to Wagner, dated 23 January 1853), and 336 (Letter 141 from Liszt to Wagner dated 31 October 1853).

orchestra in 1851, Huschke lists Stör among the first violins.¹⁰⁹ And they assisted Liszt with the Court concerts: their names appear regularly in Huschke's list of court concerts from 1841-58, with Stör playing the violin and sometimes conducting, and Götze singing.¹¹⁰

Stör and Götze are, of course, very minor figures in music history. Nonetheless, they were capable musicians, and this allowed Liszt his freedom from Weimar as he could safely leave the orchestra in their hands.

Part Two: The Kapellmeister 'in Extraordinary'

A comparison of sources at the *Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv*, Liszt's letters, the reminiscences of contemporaries, and Lina Ramann's account of Liszt's role suggests that there was a gap between how Liszt saw his position and what it actually entailed. The description of the role in Lina Ramann's *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, which Liszt most likely provided, focuses on Liszt's ambitions and what he achieved. It does not outline what the court expected of him. Rather, it emphasises the voluntary nature of the role, stressing that Liszt was not the type to follow rules, evidenced in the fact that he refused to participate in administrative work. Ramann claims that Liszt only conducted works that he felt were worthy and left everything else to his deputies. She then devotes the majority of the space to Liszt's productions of works by Wagner, Berlioz, and Schumann, ending with a list of masterworks old and new that Liszt conducted. Overall the account makes clear that Liszt was not the average Kapellmeister.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 152.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 196-206.

¹¹¹ Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2, 47-8

Like Ramann, most other authors dealing with Liszt's position in Weimar focus on the impressive range of contemporary works that he conducted.¹¹² Brief accounts of Liszt's involvement in the *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* productions are common, for example. Yet, the files of the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv give the impression that Liszt would have had to put up with a great amount of bureaucracy. There were forms to be filled every time he wanted a score copied or an instrument purchased,¹¹³ as well as petitions for more money for existing musicians and the permission to appoint new ones. He was also expected to apply to the Intendant for authorisation to miss rehearsals.¹¹⁴ And we have seen that he had to gain approval for all repertoire he wanted performed.

Despite Liszt's attempts to distance himself from the image of a humdrum Kapellmeister in a small town, the way the court treated Liszt seems distinctly at odds with how he presented his role to others. The great virtuoso was expected to be present for formal court functions, for example, and was required on such occasions to wear a uniform.¹¹⁵ This arrangement must surely have been painful for a person who believed that an artist should not be a servant, but a respected member of the community, even a priest-like figure.¹¹⁶ It also does not seem to fit Ramann's description of Liszt as a high-minded Kapellmeister whose

¹¹² This is true of Eduard Genast's account of Liszt's work in *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 307-332 and of Alan Walker's 'The Years of Struggle I, 1849-1852' and 'Growing Achievements, 1853-1857' in *Franz Liszt 2*: 112-134 and 227-269. Modern-day writers like Huschke and Walker also typically focus on the poor state of the ensembles and lack of funding that Liszt had to face. Writers from Liszt's day do not tend to mention this.

¹¹³ Unknown author, 'Instruction für den Musikalien-Verwalter der Königlichen Hoftheaters', second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 63, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

¹¹⁴ Unknown author, 'Instruction für den Hof-kapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheater', second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar. 'Daß er dem Kapellmeister nicht gestattet seyn kann, von einer Probe oder einer Vorstellung, wo ihn die Direction zusteht, ohne ausdrückliche Genehmigung der Intendanz wegzubleiben, versteht sich von selbst. Sollte er aber aus vollständig gerechtfertigten Gründen plötzlich am Erscheinen im Orchester gehindert werden, so hätte er gleichzeitig mit der deshalb der Intendanz zu machenden Anzeige auch die Anordnung zu treffen, daß ein anderer Dirigent seine Stelle vertrete.'

¹¹⁵ Walker, *Franz Liszt*, Vol. 2, 105.

¹¹⁶ See Liszt, 'On the Position of Artists' (1835), in *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 1, ed. Rainer Kleinertz, (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000), 2-65.

sole responsibility was to bring great art to the public. Perhaps this image was fostered by Liszt in order to counter the impression that he had taken a step down.

Furthermore, Theodor von Bernhardi remembered one occasion that Liszt gave a court concert in the Goethe Room at the palace. During the interval Liszt did not mingle with the court and its guests,¹¹⁷ staying with the musicians in the tiny adjoining Wieland Room.¹¹⁸ The cramped conditions must have made Liszt painfully aware of his status at court. He was also expected to be involved in the musical entertainments that Carl Alexander put on for his guests at Belvedere Castle, where the royal family spent their holidays.¹¹⁹ Finally, he was expected to give four to five singing lessons a week to Grand Duchess Sophie,¹²⁰ as well as composition lessons to Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna.¹²¹ Liszt's letters give the impression that he was simply sent for whenever the aristocrats were inclined to have a lesson.¹²²

Liszt was also expected to take a leading role in all festivals. His name features heavily in files relating to these important Weimar events. He was required to attend committee meetings leading up to the event as well as the festival banquet, and all the tedious speeches and parochial presentations that went along with these.¹²³ We will see that he actually applied to Grand Duke Carl Alexander to be absent from the 1849 Goethe festival, but this request was denied.¹²⁴ All of this suggests that, fundamentally, the court treated Liszt as an employee—perhaps an unusually famous one, but an employee nonetheless. Given that

¹¹⁷ It is not clear whether this was Liszt's choice or whether it was deemed inappropriate by the court.

¹¹⁸ Theodor von Bernhardi, *Aus dem Leben Theodor von Bernhards*, Vol. ii: 'Briefe und Tagebuchblätter aus den Jahren 1834-1857', (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1899), 101.

¹¹⁹ Walker, *Franz Liszt*, Vol. 2, 104.

¹²⁰ La Mara (ed.), *Franz Lisztz Briefe* Vol 4, 24. (Letter 18 from Liszt to Princess Wittgenstein, 28 February 1848).

¹²¹ Walker, *Franz Liszt*, Vol. 2, 105.

¹²² La Mara, *Franz Lisztz Briefe*, Vol. 4, 36. (Letter 42, from Liszt to Princess Wittgenstein, 8 February 1851).

¹²³ Examples of Liszt's involvement in Weimar festivals are included in files relating to the 1857 September Festival. See Unknown author, 'Die Septemberfeste zu Weimar 1857', *Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 2671, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

¹²⁴ See Chapter Two

he had been used to socialising with the aristocracy from an early age, and considering his principles regarding the dignity with which art and artists should be treated, this must have been very difficult to swallow.

Despite these restrictions on his freedom, Liszt did retain a certain amount of autonomy. Interestingly, he retained the title ‘Kapellmeister in Extraordinary’ even after he had committed himself to Weimar full-time and Chélaré had retired.¹²⁵ There was no longer any need to distinguish between the remit of the two men, yet Liszt did not want to commit himself completely to Weimar. Retaining his original title granted Liszt a certain amount of freedom from Weimar, which must have been important to a person of his ambitions. Indeed, according to William Mason, ‘He [Liszt] wished to avoid obligations as far as possible, and to feel free to leave Weimar for short periods when so inclined—in other words, to go and come as he liked.’¹²⁶ Yet, as we have seen above, he did not get everything his own way.

According to Bülow, Liszt always devoted the first four months of the year ‘entirely to the opera, as it is the custom always to give a new opera every time there is a Grand-Ducal birthday, all of which fall in the months of February and March.’¹²⁷ This is supported by Liszt’s correspondence throughout his tenure. His longest periods in the town were in the early years from 1848 until 1853, when he was still hopeful of achieving his ambitions for Weimar (aside from 1851 when he divided his time between Weimar and Bad Eilsen where the Princess was ill). Yet, when he was there he did not necessarily conduct. In 1853, for

¹²⁵ Interestingly, when Eduard Lassen took over from Liszt, the court dropped the ‘extraordinary’ part of the title. Lassen was merely ‘Kapellmeister’. See Adolf Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters 1817-1907*, 157.

¹²⁶ William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life*, 90.

¹²⁷ von Bülow (ed.), *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften*, 411-12. (Letter 120 to his father, 21 January 1852).

example, Liszt spent much of the year in Weimar, yet confided to Wagner that he had not conducted the orchestra for a period of eight months.¹²⁸

Nonetheless, Weimar remained his base. And crucially this period was filled with much composition, and ‘tryouts’ of his new works with the Weimar orchestra. Once the works were composed, premiered in Weimar, and revised, he increasingly brought them to a wider audience, leaving Weimar behind. From 1852 he began to participate in festivals and concerts in other towns, conducting his new compositions. This increased through 1853 until the end of 1858. In the year 1856 he travelled to Berlin, Vienna, Prague, and Dresden even during the first two months of the year—a time usually committed to Weimar. Nevertheless, Liszt did still spend some time in the town, putting on another Berlioz week in February 1856 and conducting *Benvenuto Cellini* for the celebration of Maria Paulowna’s birthday on 16 February. That year also saw several trips to Hungary, Vienna and Prague to conduct the *Gran Mass*, participation in the Magdeburg festival, and trips to Zurich, Stuttgart and Munich. Liszt only spent about a third of that year in Weimar.

The fact that Liszt was not entirely committed to Weimar did give him freedom to pursue his own projects, as he was not quite as mired in the daily grind of administration, bureaucracy, and artistic duties as he would have been otherwise. Yet, Liszt’s position was a double-edged sword. His remit was never made perfectly clear, and so each time he wanted to perform new repertoire or make improvements he often faced opposition and had to seek outside authorisation.¹²⁹ There was actually very little that he could accomplish independently, and some tedious duties, including administrative, that he could never completely avoid.

¹²⁸ Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 335-6 (Letter 141 from Liszt to Wagner, 31 October 1853).

¹²⁹ Huschke, *Franz Liszt Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar*, 77-8.

Liszt's Duties

Repertoire Choices and Liszt's Wider Project

From 1848, as Kapellmeister in extraordinary, Liszt left the choice of repertoire for the season as a whole to the Intendant, and only chose a few new works himself. The conducting of productions and performances was divided between the Kapellmeister and the Music Directors. It was normally agreed that: 'The Kapellmeister conducts all musical vocal works, which include oratorios, cantatas or operas, and are performed in the court theatre. Melodrama, plays with choruses or dances, ballets, singspiele, and posse with songs fall into the remit of the Music Directors.'¹³⁰ Though, of course, the Music Directors would also have taken on Liszt's duties in his absence. During concerts the Kapellmeister was expected to conduct all symphonies, overtures, and vocal works or pieces. Solo or instrumental pieces were to be conducted by the music directors.¹³¹ The following section will detail Liszt's choice of operatic and concert repertoire and his involvement in rehearsals.

I: Opera

Unfortunately, accurate records of exactly what was performed when, and which of these works Liszt conducted himself, are difficult to find. When Liszt first took up his post full-time he wrote to Princess Wittgenstein in some detail about his activities, yet these letters quickly became less detailed, and of course the Princess, for the most part, remained in Weimar herself and there was no reason to write to her outlining his daily activities.

¹³⁰ Unknown author, 'Instruction für den Hof-kapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheater', second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar. My translation of: 'Alle musikalischen Gesangwerke, welche den [indecipherable] Oratorium, Cantata oder Oper führen und in den Hoftheater zu Aufführung kommen, dirigiert der Hofkapellmeister. Melodrama, Schauspiele mit Chören oder Tanzen, Ballets, Singspiele und Posen mit Gesang, fallen dagegen in das Ressort der Musik Direktoren.'

¹³¹ Unknown author, 'Instruction für den Hof-kapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheater', second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar. My translation of 'Bei allen Concerten dirigiert der Kapellmeister die Symphonien, die Ouverturen und Vokalwerke oder Stücke. Die Solo- oder Instrumental- Stücke aber dirigiert der Musikdirector.'

Furthermore, when Liszt mentioned a particular performance he often did not specify the date or the conductor. And, of course, there would also have been many other performances that he did not mention in his letters. Some are alluded to in the reminiscences of Gottschalg and Genast, but memory is unreliable, and there are mistakes and omissions.

This is also a problem with the lists provided by Lina Ramann in *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* because these were supplied by Liszt retrospectively. Furthermore, Ramann only gave performance dates for new repertoire that Liszt conducted, not for the older. Bartels's *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters* and Huschke's *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar: 1756-1861* are both useful sources, based on the primary archival material available, but there are omissions in both. Bartels, in particular is inconsistent in the amount of detail supplied, sometimes listing all of the performers involved in an opera, but at other times merely noting that a production or concert took place, without even listing the repertoire. He also rarely specified who the conductor was because his work was based on the playbills from the time, which themselves rarely listed the conductor.¹³² Huschke's listings are more consistent in the amount of detail supplied, but there are many performances cited by Bartels, or mentioned in Liszt's letters, that are missing. Overall, it is possible to gain a good idea of what was performed, and there is a wealth of information about particularly important productions, such as the Wagner premieres, but it is impossible to be certain of details of exactly what Liszt conducted because of the fragmentary, incomplete nature of the records.

Initially Liszt's choice of repertoire was restricted to the small collection of music that the theatre already owned. The first opera that he conducted in Weimar was Flotow's *Martha*.

¹³² As mentioned in the literature review, until recently the playbills were only accessible at the Goethe und Schiller Archiv, the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, and the Hochschule für Music Franz Liszt, all of which are in Weimar. These archives have now worked together to make all of the existing playbills available online at <http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/content/main/search-playbill.xml>.

This was a practical choice based on the repertoire available, rather than an aesthetic one. In fact, Gottschalg revealed that Liszt wanted to conduct a Meyerbeer opera but there were no parts available at the time.¹³³ In each season each work was only performed from between one and three times. A large number of different works were performed each season. Only a handful of operas were actually new each year, as the Weimar theatre tended to revive works from previous years.¹³⁴ This was the norm in most theatres of the time.

Liszt was soon greatly to expand the restricted repertoire, and this set Weimar apart from other theatres of the period. At the time Mozart was popular, and there was a considerable demand for Italian opera, whilst performances of German operas were rare.¹³⁵ But it was Liszt's mission to bring forth works of promising living composers, many of whom were German.¹³⁶ When writing to Beaulieu-Marconnay about the evening's court concert on 21 May 1855, Liszt suggested taking Beethoven off the programme, arguing:

Nothing better, doubtless, than to respect, admire, and study the illustrious dead; but why not also occasionally live with the living? This is the method we have tried with Wagner, Berlioz, Schumann, and a few others...The significance of the musical movement of which Weimar is at present the very centre, lies precisely in this initiative.¹³⁷

Liszt famously gave many performances of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*,¹³⁸ and *The Flying Dutchman*. He also provided a platform for Berlioz by putting on *Benvenuto Cellini* in 1852 and 1856.¹³⁹ In 1855 Liszt conducted Schumann's *Genoveva*, and he gave exposure to several young composers, such as Joachim Raff, Eduard Lassen, and Peter

¹³³ Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar*, 15.

¹³⁴ Huschke, *Franz Liszt Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar*, 78.

¹³⁵ Patrick Carnegy, *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre* (New Haven, Connecticut; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 777.

¹³⁶ Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, Vol. 2, Part 2, 47.

¹³⁷ Translation in Adrian Williams, *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 369-370 of the original French: 'Rien de mieux sans doute que de respecter, admirer et étudier les morts illustres; mais pourquoi ne pas aussi parfois vivre avec les vivants? Nous avons essayé de cette méthode avec Wagner, Berlioz, Schumann et quelques autres...La signification du mouvement dont Weymar se trouve actuellement le centre, gît précisément dans cette initiative' in La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 1, 199. (Letter 137 to Beaulieu-Marconnay, dated 21 May 1855)

¹³⁸ The premiere of *Lohengrin* was held in Weimar on 28 August 1850.

¹³⁹ See Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters*, 99 and 113. The performances took place on 20 March 1852 and 16 February 1856.

Cornelius, all of whom had moved to Weimar to be near Liszt. Liszt did, of course, conduct older music as well, but only those works that he deemed worthy. He was keen to mount, for example, a Gluck revival at Weimar.¹⁴⁰

Liszt chose his repertoire carefully. It is clear that he looked upon his work in Weimar almost as a calling, using his position to promote music that was exceptional, not simply popular,¹⁴¹ and thereby educating the general public.¹⁴² Indeed, Genast remembered that, ‘he [Liszt] only took on challenges that were worthy of his tirelessness, his talent and genius’.¹⁴³

Naturally, Liszt’s choice of repertoire consisted of works that would further his own aesthetic. He asked Wagner to help him in this, requesting that he ‘Draw up occasionally for me a repertory of earlier and modern works which appear to you most adapted to further the cause of art.’¹⁴⁴ It is not certain that Wagner completed this task, but Weimar’s repertoire would eventually include premieres of all but one of the Weimar symphonic poems,¹⁴⁵ as well as ground-breaking staged and concert works past and present. Overall, Liszt’s carefully chosen repertoire created a background against which his own music should be understood. It consisted of works that Liszt felt revealed new ways of unifying drama and music, and the choice of older works gave the impression that the ‘music of the future’ was grounded in, and was a natural development of, the classics of the past.

¹⁴⁰ Liszt conducted *Iphigenie en Aulide* on 16 February and 13 March 1850, 8 May 1856 and 6 March 1857; *Orpheus and Euridice* on 16 February 1854, 30 April 1856 and 13 March 1857; *Armide* on 16 February 1857; and *Alceste* on 26 December 1857 and 18 February 1858. *Iphigenie in Taurus* was planned for the season of 1858/59. See Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 137.

¹⁴¹ Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2, 47.

¹⁴² The need to educate the public is also a common theme of Liszt’s published writings. For example, see Liszt, ‘Orpheus von Gluck’, in *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5: *Dramaturgische Blätter*, ed. Detlef Altenburg, (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), 11.

¹⁴³ Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 320. My translation of ‘Nun aber schritt er zu einer Aufgabe, die nur seine Unermüdlichkeit, sein Talent und Genie würdig lösen konnten.’

¹⁴⁴ Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 176. (Letter 60 from Liszt to Wagner, dated 17 May 1851)

¹⁴⁵ The exception is *Hamlet*, which was premiered in Sondershausen, on 2 July 1876, conducted by M. Erdmannsdörfer. Yet, Liszt did hear the Weimar orchestra play *Hamlet* in a rehearsal on 25 June 1858 soon after he completed it. See Pauline Pocknell (ed.), *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: a Correspondence* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1999), 152.

Yet, Liszt must have felt to some extent that his message was wasted on the people of Weimar. He, therefore, began to write about his Weimar productions in a series of articles published by *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. They allowed Liszt to bring his ideas and the context he had created for Wagner's and his own work to a broader public. These articles mainly drew on examples from opera, but also from incidental music.

Liszt would typically explain how these works represented important progress in unifying music and drama, but would also criticise them to show there was still some way to go. He criticised, for example, the composer's lack of 'scenic experience', the choice of material and the 'almost exclusively symphonic treatment of the orchestra and voice' in his article on Beethoven's *Fidelio*.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Liszt felt that the proportion of music to drama was unequal in Beethoven's music to *Egmont*.¹⁴⁷ He felt that Mendelssohn had achieved a more equal relationship between the two in his music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and had enabled the play to receive renewed recognition.¹⁴⁸ As regards Auber's *La Muette de Portici*, Liszt found the music attractive, particularly its folk elements, but in general he found it superficial and decorative, rather than having a deep connection to the drama. He found Auber's melodies aphoristic, weakly developed and insufficiently connected. The critical comparison was implicit: there was not the continuous development and the sense of connection to a larger whole that we find in Wagner's music dramas. Yet, Liszt praised Auber's use of expressive harmony, specifically his incorporation of altered chords and the elevation of dissonant passing notes to a main role.¹⁴⁹ Both Liszt's Weimar productions and his writings, therefore, educated the public about his own musico-dramatic approach (and advanced harmonic language), preparing them for the premieres of his symphonic poems,

¹⁴⁶ Liszt, 'Beethoven's *Fidelio*', in *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5, 8-10.

¹⁴⁷ See Liszt, 'Über Beethoven's Musik zu *Egmont*', in *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5, 21.

¹⁴⁸ Liszt, 'Ueber Mendelssohns Musik zum *Sommernachtstraum*' in *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5, 22-25.

¹⁴⁹ Liszt, 'Die Stumme von Portici von Auber' in *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5, 28-29.

which he would introduce to a wider concert-going public throughout the second half of the 1850s.

All of this suggests that Liszt made his work in Weimar fit in with his wider project. Indeed, when it came to performances of what he considered more banal repertoire, he would leave the conducting of the court orchestra to a deputy. In May 1853, for example, Liszt lamented to Wagner ‘Alas! alas! *Indra*, by Flotow, absorbs all the delicate attentions of our artistic direction; and this wretched melody will be given the day after tomorrow as a festival opera.’¹⁵⁰ Liszt was in Weimar at the time. He could have conducted the opera but chose not to do so.

Nevertheless, when it came to a work he did admire, Liszt became heavily involved in rehearsals and preparations, even going beyond what was expected of him. Indeed, he appears to have concerned himself with all aspects of the production. This was a part of his role that he evidently took very seriously, and to which he devoted a lot of time and effort. For example, Liszt took many rehearsals of Schumann’s *Genoveva*,¹⁵¹ and had been in touch with the composer as early as June 1849 wanting to discuss the possibility of staging it at Weimar.¹⁵² The performance eventually took place on 9 April 1855 with Liszt conducting. He also corresponded closely with Schumann about the staging of *Manfred*, trying to comply as closely as possible with the composer’s wishes.¹⁵³ Perhaps influenced by ideas on ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’, he wrote to Wagner about scenic designs for his operas.¹⁵⁴ And he closely observed the scenic aspects of productions in other theatres, lamenting to Wagner

¹⁵⁰ Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 295. (Letter 113 from Liszt to Wagner, 19 May 1853)

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 413. (Letter 186 from Liszt to Wagner, 29 March 1855)

¹⁵² La Mara (ed.), *Franz Lisztz Briefe* Vol. 1, 78-9. (Letter 60 to Robert Schumann, 5 June 1849)

¹⁵³ Wolfgang Seibold, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt: im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenz und Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main; Oxford: P. Lange, 2005), 234-40.

¹⁵⁴ For example, see Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 217-8 (Letter 76, May 1852).

it is different with the dresses and scenery, which are much more tasteful at Gotha than at Weimar. I have spoken very strongly on that point here; and as my prayers and admonitions in this respect have so far been of little avail, I am determined not to conduct *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* again until the necessary improvements in the scenery have been made. This negative measure, which I had kept in reserve, will probably be effective. In the meantime our opera remains in a stagnant condition.¹⁵⁵

Unfortunately, it appears that Liszt never received the financial support substantially to improve the scenery at Weimar.

As Kapellmeister Liszt was expected to arrange, announce, and conduct rehearsals. The files in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv set down detailed regulations regarding rehearsals. These concur with descriptions in Liszt's correspondence and in Genast's memoirs, suggesting that in this aspect of his work, at least, Liszt was keen to fulfil all of his duties personally. The Kapellmeister was expected to commence piano rehearsals as soon as possible. If he was a pianist, he was obliged to take at least the first two or three piano rehearsals in person, directing from the piano. It was up to the Kapellmeister to decide how many were needed.

According to Genast's memoirs Liszt held daily piano rehearsals with the singers over the summer holidays for the performance of *Lohengrin* planned for 28 August 1850.¹⁵⁶ Unlike Wagner, Liszt was not a child of the theatre. His only experience of theatrical production was the premiere of his early opera, *Don Sanche*. And he also had little experience as a conductor, let alone as a vocal coach. Weimar would have been a steep learning curve, as he suddenly found himself tasked with bringing challenging works to performance. These new experiences must have given him rich insight and a new perspective into the world of the theatre.

¹⁵⁵ Translation in Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 237 of the original German in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 400 'Der musikalische Teil ist bei uns besser bestellt; anders aber verhält es sich mit der Ausstattung und den Dekorationen, welche in Gotha weit geschmackvoller als in Weimar sind. Ich habe mich darüber auch sehr entschieden hier erklärt—da aber meine Bitten und Ermahnungen in diesem Bezug bis jetzt fast nichts genützt haben, so behalt ich mir vor, den Tannhäuser und Lohengrin *nicht* mehr zu dirigieren, bis die notwendigen Verbesserungen in der Szenerie geschehen. Wahrscheinlich hilft dieses negative Mittel, welches ich bis jetzt noch nicht gebrauchen wollte. —Einstweilen bleibt unsere Oper in ihrem blühenden Stagnieren.' (Letter 177 from Liszt to Wagner, 25 January 1855)

¹⁵⁶ Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 320.

After the ‘Clavier Proben’ the Kapellmeister would lead the ‘Correctur Proben’, in which the soloists, chorus and orchestra all came together. The purpose of ‘Clavier Proben’ and ‘Correctur Proben’ was to put the musical aspects of the performance in order. Acting rehearsals were taken separately by the Regisseur who would take reading rehearsals—‘Leseproben’—as soon as possible. During these rehearsals the Regisseur would not only ensure that the actors knew their lines, but they would have artistic input: the regulations required that the Regisseur make sure that the actors’ delivery was ‘in the spirit of the role’¹⁵⁷ (though we have seen that Wagner felt Genast somewhat lacking in this aspect of his job).

Once these preliminary rehearsals had taken place, drama and music would be united in ‘Theater Proben’. These were arranged in consultation with the Regisseur who also played an important part.¹⁵⁸ They would probably have been conducted in full costume with complete sets.¹⁵⁹ Liszt’s pupils were encouraged to sit in.¹⁶⁰ The Kapellmeister and Regisseur directed the rehearsals together, the Kapellmeister correcting the musical elements, and the Regisseur ensuring that there were no difficulties with scenery, and coaching the actors. Again, Genast’s memoirs corroborate this. As regards *Lohengrin*, Genast remembered that he stood by the side of Liszt during the rehearsals so that he could comment on the acting while Liszt focussed on musical considerations. Each act was rehearsed separately. Both Genast and Liszt recalled several hours of rehearsal each day.¹⁶¹ Again, it was up to the Kapellmeister to

¹⁵⁷ Unknown author, ‘Instruction für den Oper Regisseur’, dated to the second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 66, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar. ‘Sowie eine neue Oper, welche viel Prosa hat, auf das Repertoire gekommen ist, hat der betreffende Regisseur so bald als möglich eine Leseprobe abzuhalten und dabei nicht allein darauf zu achten, daß sämtliche bei der Oper beschäftigte Mitglieder anwesend sind, sondern auch daß die Rollen fließend und im Geiste derselben gelesen werden.’

¹⁵⁸ Unknown author, ‘Instruction für den Oper Regisseur’, dated to the second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 66, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

¹⁵⁹ Innes, ‘The Rise of the Director...’, 178.

¹⁶⁰ For example, see Hans von Bülow, *The Early Correspondence*, 33 (To his mother, 2 June 1849), and 127 (To his mother, 31 December 1852).

¹⁶¹ Genast remembered 4-5 hours per day—see Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 320, whilst according to Liszt it was 2-3 hours—see Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 120. (Letter 38 from Liszt to Wagner, dated 12 August 1850)

decide how many ‘Theater Proben’ would be needed. Liszt took nine full rehearsals for *Lohengrin*.¹⁶² He also took sectionals,¹⁶³ which, are not mentioned at all in the Instruction für den Hof-kapellmeister or in the equivalent document for the Music Directors. They were probably an innovation of Liszt’s.

Overall, through his close involvement in rehearsals, Liszt must have gained a detailed knowledge of the operas he conducted, and a newfound practical knowledge of the workings of the theatre. Through his partnership with Genast he would also have gained insight into the work from the point of view of the actors, and would have been exposed to the acting styles and traditions of the Weimar stage. Furthermore, for the first time he would have had to consider the importance of visual elements, such as movement, scenery, props and costume and the ways in which these could interact with music. All of this would have informed his developing ideas on the union of music and drama.

II: Concerts

Perhaps the most important part of Liszt’s job, at least as far as the court was concerned, was to organise concerts. This was perhaps the only job that he could not delegate because the court had engaged Liszt mainly to take charge of concerts that were primarily for their entertainment. Indeed, we have seen that initially it was his only duty. Liszt would draft programmes, and, once approved, he would schedule rehearsals and conduct performances.

Court concerts took two forms. There were ‘Großes Konzerts’ which were advertised publicly and took place in the Court Theatre. They were usually benefit events, designed to raise money for charity. There were also ‘Hofkonzerts’ which were much more private affairs

¹⁶² Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 320.

¹⁶³ Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 120. (Letter 38 from Liszt to Wagner, 12 August 1850)

that were put on solely for the amusement of the court and their guests and usually took place in the palace.

Records in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv suggest that the private ‘Hofkonzerts’ took place roughly twice a month. Due to the incomplete nature of the records it is difficult to determine the precise number in which Liszt was involved, but his name does appear frequently and the court would have requested him specifically to play (which would probably have gone against his own wishes). It can also be assumed that he was particularly involved in court concerts at the beginning of the year when he was expected to be in Weimar anyway to take charge of the operatic performances for court birthdays, which mostly fell in the first quarter of the year.

The ‘Hofkonzerts’ occurred regularly on a set day of the week.¹⁶⁴ ‘Großes Konzerts’ were put on much less regularly. According to Gottschalg, Hummel used to organise two instrumental concerts per year for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the court.¹⁶⁵ They were only slightly more frequent under Liszt: Huschke records only thirty between 1848 and 1858.¹⁶⁶ It seems that opportunities for the general public to attend musical performances were mainly limited to operatic performances.

Hofkonzerts were not advertised publicly and so no ‘Theaterzettels’ are available for them, so it is even more difficult to make out exactly what was performed and when. However, there are some files in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv that shed some light on

¹⁶⁴ This is evident in a circular sent by the Intendant to the performers involved on 7 February 1858. It said that His Highness ‘now wishes the concerts to take place on Mondays.’ The few winter concerts that could not take place on this day would be on Tuesdays because operas often took place on Sundays and Liszt had also agreed to this date. Therefore, concerts would take place on Monday 11 January and Monday 25 January, as well as Tuesday 23 February and Tuesday 9 March. Ferdinand von Ziegesar, Circular to members of the Weimar Court Orchestra, 7 February 1858, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 1314 Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

¹⁶⁵ Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar*, 3.

¹⁶⁶ Huschke, *Franz Liszt Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar*, 131.

the subject. A file entitled ‘Hofconcerte 1850’¹⁶⁷ contains records in the hand of von Ziegesar for the court concerts that year. Sometimes a list of repertoire is included, but at others there is merely a short note listing the performers and the date of the concert. The repertoire at these private concerts consisted mainly of chamber and solo pieces, whereas larger scale works, such as symphonies and oratorios were usually performed at the public concerts. A handwritten programme of a court concert that took place on 10 February 1850 consisted of the following works:

1. Duette – Iphigenia in Tauris – Gluck

Schneider, Milde

2. Das Fischermädchen Lied – Schubert

Agthe

3. Terzette – Belisar – Donizetti

Agthe, Milde, Schneider

4. Fantasie über Motive aus den Propheten von Meyerbeer – Liszt

INTERVAL

5. Lockung – Pause und Ungeduld – Schubert

Linden, Milde

6. L’orgia – Rossini

Schneider

7. Duette – Tancred – Rossini

¹⁶⁷ Ferdinand von Ziegesar, ‘Hofconcerte 1850’, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

Agthe, Milde

8. Der Hochzeitsbraten – Schubert

Agthe, Milde, Schneider etc.

Another handwritten note refers to a Court Concert on 15 April 1850 under ‘Liszts Leitung’.

The programme was as follows:

1. Quartett, Tell (Frls. Agthe und Fastlinger, Hrn. Milde und Schneider) – Rossini
2. Lied, Der Schiffer (Hr. Milde) – Schubert
3. Duette, ‘Semiramis’ (Frl. Agthe, Hr. Milde) – Rossini

INTERVAL

4. Lied, Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass (Hr. Götze) – Schubert
5. Duette, Ory (Fr. Fastlinger, Hr. Götze) – Rossini

INTERVAL

6. Lied, Gretchen am Spinnrad (Frl. Agthe) – Schubert
7. Quartett, Bianca und Falliero (Frls. Agthe und Fastlinger, Hrn. Milde und Schneider) –
Rossini

These programmes suggest that popular opera influenced repertoire choices. They are dominated by vocal music and even the piece performed by Liszt (in the concert on 10 February) is a fantasy based on themes from Meyerbeer’s *Le Prophète*. Opera also had a significant influence on the repertoire of the ‘Großes Konzerts’. These often opened or closed with an operatic overture or even a whole act, usually from operas being prepared for

performance at the time.¹⁶⁸ Liszt, therefore, often used concerts as a platform for the dramatic works with which he was involved. In between these larger-scale numbers the singers would often perform arias or duets. Songs from *Orpheus ed Euridice*, *Belisar*, and *William Tell* appear among the repertoire lists, as well as works from several other operas.

The repertoire choices undoubtedly reflect the tastes of the time. Audiences would not have been used to sitting through long concerts of large-scale symphonic works. And Liszt must have been aware that a short operatic or concert overture was a useful genre that could open a dramatic work, open or close a concert, and even be performed between two dramatic works. Under Chélaré, the Weimar theatre already owned parts for several Berlioz overtures, as well as the *Fidelio Overture*, and the *Oberon* and *Jubel* overtures by Weber,¹⁶⁹ again contributing to the frequency with which Liszt conducted concert overtures. The versatility of these pieces—straddling the theatre and the concert hall, must have informed Liszt's ideas on his new genre, the 'symphonic poem'.

Berlioz, in particular, was well-represented in Weimar concerts. The *Overture to King Lear*, the *Harold Symphony*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Damnation of Faust* (first two movements), *The Childhood of Christ*, *The Fantastic Symphony* and *Lélio* were all heard either under Liszt's baton or under the composer's. Jeffrey Langford has argued convincingly that several of these works, particularly *Romeo and Juliet*, but also the other 'dramatic symphonies' owe more to nineteenth-century French opera than to the concert tradition.¹⁷⁰ Berlioz's dramatic symphonies can be positioned, therefore, as a development of dramatic genres. This has clear parallels with Liszt's positioning of his own symphonic poems.

¹⁶⁸ For example, Wagner's Overture to *Tannhäuser* opened the concert on 12 November 1848 and Schumann's Overture to *Genoveva* opened the concert on 19 October 1850. The concert on 12 November 1848 closed with Act four from *Les Huguenots*, as did the concert on 1 January 1849.

¹⁶⁹ Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar*, 4-5.

¹⁷⁰ Jeffrey A. Langford, 'The "Dramatic Symphonies" of Berlioz as an Outgrowth of the French Operatic Tradition,' *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983), 85-103.

Undoubtedly, the innovative treatment of music and drama in Berlioz's dramatic symphonies, heard so often in Weimar, must have resonated with Liszt's ideas for his own genre.

Undeniably, opera did significantly influence the repertoire choices of both types of concert. Yet, Liszt did also use these concerts to promote 'worthy' symphonic works past and present, although to a lesser extent than in opera. Large-scale symphonic works were occasionally heard at Weimar; if a concert did not open with an operatic or concert overture, it would sometimes open with a symphony.¹⁷¹

Yet, it was also common at the time for an instrumental work to be performed in between the acts of an opera or during the interval—known as an 'entr'acte' or in German, 'Zwischenaktsmusik'. Occasionally a visiting virtuoso would perform as a soloist, or on other occasions a large-scale symphonic work might be performed. This was something that Liszt had already experienced from the point of view of the performer. On 31 January 1843 Liszt's performance at the Breslauer Theatre was advertised as a concert. Yet, the evening's entertainments also included a play: *Schwärmerei nach der Mode* by Karl Blum. Liszt gave his first three pieces after the first act and the after the play had ended he closed the evening with the Finale from *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *Hungarian Melodies and March*.¹⁷² A similar thing happened on 2 February, again in Breslau.¹⁷³ Clearly, the definition of a 'concert' was less restrictive then than it can be now.

The entr'actes tradition was a source of contention between Liszt and the theatre management. Liszt abhorred the practice, and eventually made his position public in his essay

¹⁷¹ Beethoven's 6th, for example, opened the concert on 19 March 1849, and his 9th closed the concerts on 29 August 1849 and 24 February 1850, whilst Schumann's *Symphony No. 4* opened the concert on 23 February 1854.

¹⁷² Theaterzettel, 31 January 1843, GSA 59/240 BL 22 (ÜF 325), Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar.

¹⁷³ Theaterzettel, 2 February 1843, GSA 59/240 BL 23 (ÜF 325), Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar. The programme was: *Der Sohn auf Reisen* by L. Feldmann followed by Liszt's first pieces: Weber's *Conzertstück*, *Lied* by Schubert and *Cavatine* by Paccini. Then there was the second play: *Das Fest der Handwerker* by L. Angely. Liszt concluded the evening with Weber's *Invitation to Dance* and *Hexameron*.

of 1855 entitled ‘Zwischenaktsmusik’¹⁷⁴ He felt that it was a ‘prostitution of the orchestra’ and involved a dumbing down of the audience. It was unfair to expect the audience to veer from a dramatic production to a musical performance with no break—they would inevitably want to talk to their friends and would not give the music their attention.¹⁷⁵

Generally, Liszt felt that the delicate union of music and drama was threatened by insensitive Intendants programming completely unrelated music in between the acts of a play. Music composed especially for a play was a different case—it should be rehearsed with care and advertised on the programme. But if this did not exist, light music or military music should be performed instead. Indeed, the Weimar Court Theatre, like many others of the time had a stock of generic entr’actes that they could draw upon. A file in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv from the 1840s show that the theatre purchased ‘eine Reihenfolge von Entre-Acts für kleines Orchester zum Gebrauch bei Schau und Lust-spielen folgen zu lassen’ by C. Böhmer.¹⁷⁶ They were also approached in March 1844 by Bote and Bock advertising ‘Compositionen für Orchester von Josef Gung’l’, which the publishers said could be performed as entr’actes in the theatre, in ballets, and in concerts.¹⁷⁷ It appears that this sort of music had numerous possible performance contexts, though Liszt surely would have disapproved of conducting it in a concert.

Despite Liszt’s protestations, it appears that the custom survived in Weimar during his tenure. Beaulieu-Marconnay in particular, seems to have been instrumental in maintaining the practice on the Weimar stage. On 21 October 1856 (almost a year after the publication of

¹⁷⁴ Franz Liszt, ‘Zwischenaktsmusik’, *Berliner Musikzeitung Echo* 9 December 1855. Reprinted by Lina Ramann as Franz Liszt, ‘Keine Zwischenakts-Musik!’ in *Gesammelte Schriften* Vol 3, ed. and trans. Lina Ramann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881), 136-150.

¹⁷⁵ Liszt, ‘Zwischenaktsmusik’, 387.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Musikverlagshandlung’, Letter, 1840s, Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar, 1368, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar.

¹⁷⁷ Mssrs Bote and Bock, Letter, March 1844, Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar, 1368, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar.

‘Keine Zwischenaktsmusik!’) he set down an official ‘act’ to clarify exactly what was expected of newly composed entr’actes:

In order to appropriately establish the artistic relationship between opera music and entr’actes, and at the same time to provide relief to the members of the court orchestra in order to fulfil their roles in the best possible way, I find it necessary to determine the following regulations:

1. The entr’actes for all plays for which particular music has not already been composed, should only use the following orchestra:

- a. 3 first violins
- b. 3 second violins
- c. a viola
- d. a cello
- e. a double bass
- f. all woodwind instruments
- g. two horns
- h. a trombone
- i. two trumpets
- j. if possible, no timpani and no percussion instruments¹⁷⁸

This ‘act’ was signed by the Music Directors Götze and Stör, the ‘Kammer-Musikus’ Sachse, as well as Beaulieu himself. Liszt’s signature does not appear. This may have been because of his known antipathy to the practice, or simply because the composition of entr’actes was a responsibility of the Music Directors. Yet, we will see in later chapters that Liszt’s compositions were occasionally performed in this context.

¹⁷⁸ Beaulieu Marconnay, ‘Die Zwischenakts-Musik’, 21 October 1856, Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar, 822, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar. My translation of ‘Um der künstlerische Verhältniß zwischen Opern-Musik und Zwischenakts-Musik passend herzustellen, und zugleich der Mitglidere der Hofkapelle die möglichste Erleichterung in ihren Dienst-Funktionen zu verschaffen, finde ich mich zu folgenden Bestimmungen veranlaßt:

1. Die Zwischenakts-Musik bei allen Schauspiel-Vorstellungen, für welche nicht eine eigene Musik componiert worden ist, soll nur von folgenden Orchester ausgeführt werden:
 - a. Drei erste Violinen
 - b. Drei zweite Violinen
 - c. Eine Viola
 - d. Eine Cello
 - e. Ein Baß
 - f. Sämmtliche Holz-Instrumente
 - g. Zwei Hörner
 - h. Eine Posaune
 - i. Zwei Trompeten

Möglich ohne Pauke, sowie mit Beseitigung der Schlag-Instrumente.

Interestingly, Beaulieu-Marconnay seems to have included overtures under the bracket of ‘Zwischenaktsmusik’, suggesting a broader understanding of the term with a similar meaning to ‘incidental music’. Beaulieu-Marconnay stipulated that when it came to overtures before tragedies the whole orchestra could be used. This suggests, unsurprisingly, that tragic overtures were considered a more prestigious genre than entr’actes, and again, we will see that one of Liszt’s symphonic poems was also performed in this context. Overall, the Weimar stage in all of these practices and traditions (and the fact that there was no separate concert hall) encouraged flexibility between staged and concert genres.

Occasionally Liszt was involved in choosing and conducting entr’actes. But on these rare occasions he seems to have carefully considered their relationship to the dramatic productions they would separate. Where possible, he tried to find works that were in some way connected. He conducted Berlioz’s concert overture based on themes from *Benvenuto Cellini*, *Le Carnaval Romain*, for example, as an entr’acte during a production of the opera that took place on 16 February 1856. Hushcke also points out that on another occasion Liszt conducted Beethoven’s *Eroica Symphony* after a performance of Schiller’s *Wallensteins Lager* on 12 November 1856. The evening ended with Schiller’s *Die Glocke*.¹⁷⁹ Hushcke does not elaborate on Liszt’s reasons for choosing the *Eroica Symphony*. Liszt may well have been inspired by the themes of heroism in *Wallensteins Lager*, yet the relationship between Schiller and Beethoven seems to have resonated deeply for Liszt. Christian Berger has found quotations from Beethoven’s 1st and 9th symphonies in Liszt’s symphonic poem, *Die Ideale*.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, Liszt also used the ‘Ode to Joy’ theme from Beethoven’s 9th as a reminiscence motif representing Schiller in his music to Halm’s festival play *Vor Hundert*

¹⁷⁹ Hushcke, *Franz Liszt Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar*, 130.

¹⁸⁰ Christian Berger, ‘Die Musik der Zukunft: Franz Liszts Symphonische Dichtung *Die Ideale*’, *Liszt-Jahrbuch* 1 (1994), 101-14.

Jahren. The choice of the symphony as a bridge between two of Schiller's works seems, therefore, to have been carefully considered.

Figure 4: Playbill for the Schiller Celebration of 12 November 1856

Hof-Theater.

Weimar, Mittwoch den 12. November 1856.
Zur Feier von Schillers Geburtstag:

Wallensteins Lager.

Vorspiel in einem Akt, von Schiller.

Wachtmeister, von einem Leutnanten	Hr. Franke	Kroat,	Hr. Fischer II.
Trompeter, Karabiner-Regiment,	Hr. Pasquo.	Ulan,	Hr. Fadel.
Konstabler,	Hr. Koch.	Refrut,	Hr. Zehlfass.
Erster Scharfschütz,	Hr. Streit.	Bürger,	Hr. Stromeyer.
Zweiter Scharfschütz,	Hr. Piquard.	Bauer,	Hr. Schmeißer.
Erster Volksscher reitender Jäger,	Hr. Herrmann.	Bauernsohn,	Hr. Keller.
Zweiter Volksscher reitender Jäger,	Hr. Remisire.	Kapuziner,	Hr. Zettstedt.
Erster Butlerischer Dragoner,	Hr. Ränger.	Soldatenschulmeister,	Hr. Lutz.
Zweiter Butlerischer Dragoner,	Hr. Buchart.	Markensenderin,	Hr. Zettstedt.
Erster Aufseher, vom Regiment	Hr. Winterberger.	Aufwärterin,	Hr. Klementz.
Zweiter Aufseher, vom Regiment	Hr. Wöhe I.	Soldatenjunge,	Hr. Clara Heße.
Erster Kürassier, von einem Wal-	Hr. Brand.		
Zweiter Kürassier, von einem Wal-	Hr. Böfer.		
Konstabler. Scharfschützen. Kroaten. Ulanen. Soldatenjungen. Trompeter. Prager Musikanten.			

D i e r a u f:

Die Symphonie eroica von Bethoven.

Z u m S c h l u ß:
Z u m E r s t e n m a l e:

D i e G l o c k e.

Gedicht von Schiller. Musik von Lindpaintner.

Der Meister, Hr. Kaibel.
Die Meisterin, Fr. Don-Lebrun.
Gesellen,

- L e b e n d e B i l d e r.
- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Bild: Die Taufe. | 5. Bild: Das Begräbniß der Mutter. |
| 2. Bild: Der Brautgang. | 6. Bild: Das Erntefest. |
| 3. Bild: Die Häuslichkeit. | 7. Bild: Der Aufruhr. |
| 4. Bild: Der Brand. | 8. Bild: Der Kirchgang. |

Zehnte Vorstellung im Dritten Abonnement.

P r e i s e d e r P l ä t z e:			
Fremden-Loge	1 Thlr. — Sgr.	Parterre-Loge	— Thlr. 15 Sgr.
Balkon	— „ 20 „	Parterre	— „ 10 „
Sperreloge	— „ 20 „	Gallerie-Loge	— „ 7 1/2 „
Parquet	— „ 15 „	Gallerie	— „ 5 „

Anfang halb 7 Uhr. Ende halb 10 Uhr.

Die Billets gelten nur am Tage der Vorstellung, wo sie gelöst worden.
Der Zutritt auf die Bühne, bei den Proben wie bei den Vorstellungen, ist nicht gestattet.
Das Theater wird halb 6 Uhr geöffnet.
Die freien Entrées sind erst halb 7 Uhr gültig.

Druck des Hof- und Stadt-Verlags.

Yet, on other occasions Liszt would make choices based on practicality. He would deliberately choose a bright, lively piece as an entr'acte or an overture to a comedy. For example, a poster in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv advertising a performance of the comedy *Die Erzählungen der Königen von Navarra* on 2 February 1851 includes the subtitle: 'Zur Eröffnung: Jubel-Ouverture von C. M. von Weber', which was to be conducted by Liszt. This was a work that the theatre already owned prior to Liszt's arrival in Weimar,¹⁸¹ and so, presumably, the orchestra were already familiar with it.

¹⁸¹ See Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar*, 4-5.

Figure 5: Playbill for *Die Erzählungen der Königin von Navarra*, 2 February 1851

Anfang dieser Vorstellung um 6 Uhr.

Hof-Theater.

Weimar, Sonntag den 2. Februar 1851.

Zum Erstenmale:

**Die Erzählungen
der Königin von Navarra.**

Historisches Lustspiel in fünf Akten, von Schiller und Gneßl Regensd.,
(Pariser Original-Einstellung.)

Zur Eröffnung:
Jubel-Ouverture
von F. W. v. Weber.
Dirigirt von dem Hof-Kapellmeister Hr. Dietl.

Carl V., König von Spanien,	Hr. Bösch.
Franz I., König von Frankreich,	Hr. Winterberger.
Don Guarrizano, Räuber des Königs von Spanien,	Hr. Joffé.
Doni d'Alfort, Gouverneur des Schloss,	Hr. Helldorn.
Valmont, französischer Agent des Königs von Frankreich,	Hr. Gellert.
Margarethe, Schwester des Königs Franz,	Hr. Gneßl.
Isabella von Portugal, Tochter König Carl V.,	Hr. Gellert.
Eleonore, sehr Schöne,	Hr. G. Müller.
Damen und Herren vom Hofe.	
Offiziere, Pagen.	

Ort: Weimar. J. J. 1851.

Äußerste Vorführung im Theater-Abonnement.

Preise der Plätze:

Parquet-Platz	100	50	25	10	5
Orchestra	—	—	—	—	—
Parquet	—	—	—	—	—
Orchestra	—	—	—	—	—
Parquet	—	—	—	—	—
Orchestra	—	—	—	—	—

Anfang um 6 Uhr. Ende um 9 Uhr.

Die Plätze gelten nur zur Lage der Vorstellung, wo sie giltig werden.

Der Zutritt auf die Bühne, bei der Probe, nur bei der Vorstellung, ist nicht gestattet.

Das Theater wird am 3 Uhr geöffnet. 7 1/2

Die freien Entrées sind erst um 6 Uhr gültig.

Kapell: Hr. Gneßl.

In any case, Liszt's work in Weimar, which necessitated his making choices like these, stimulated important ideas. These experiences of re-contextualising instrumental works and of reconsidering the relationships between spoken theatre and purely instrumental works provided a rich and stimulating context for the development of the symphonic poems.

The Weimar Ensembles

From the beginning, Liszt aimed to perform very ambitious repertoire, and so it was particularly important to raise the standard of the Weimar ensembles. He worked with the orchestra to improve their technique and expression, but initially he met with some resistance from the court musicians, who did not respect or understand his unusual approach as a conductor.¹⁸² Eventually Liszt won over the orchestral players and it was generally agreed that he succeeded in improving their playing style,¹⁸³ but limited resources were always an obstacle. Berlioz's memoirs suggest that when he arrived in Weimar in 1841 he found a reasonably strong orchestra:

The Weimar orchestra is a good one. But in my honour Chélard and Lobe had hunted up all the extra string players they could find to augment its normal strength, and they presented me with an active force of 22 violins, 7 violas, 7 cellos, 7 double basses. There was a full muster of wind players, among whom I especially noticed an excellent first clarinet and a superb valve trumpet (Sachse). There was no cor anglais (I had to transpose the part for clarinet), no harp—a very pleasant young man called Montag, a good pianist and an impeccable musician, agreed to arrange the harp parts for the piano and play them himself—and no ophicleide, a tolerably powerful bombardon being substituted.

The numbers appear to have been largely similar in Liszt's day. Huschke provides the following list of the salaried employees that Liszt had at his disposal during his tenure:¹⁸⁴

1843 Kapellmeister in extraordinary (Liszt), Kapellmeister (Chélard), 2 Music Directors (Eberwein and Götze), 8 Chamber musicians, 26 Court musicians, 1 Akzessist (an unpaid assistant who doubled up as an extra player when needed) (Orchestra: 37 members)

¹⁸² Gottschalg, *Franz Liszt in Weimar*, 4.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁸⁴ Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 207. I have added the names of those undertaking certain positions where possible.

1846 Kapellmeister in extraordinary (Liszt), Kapellmeister (Chélard), 2 Music Directors (Eberwein and Götze), 10 Chamber musicians, 22 Court Musicians, 2 Akzessisten, 1 Court pianist (Carl Montag) (Orchestra: 36 members)

1851 Kapellmeister in extraordinary (Liszt), Kapellmeister (Chélard), 2 Music Directors (Stör and Götze), Concert master (Joachim) 12 Chamber musicians, 18 Court musicians, 4 Akzessisten, Court pianist (Orchestra: 36 members)

1855 Kapellmeister in extraordinary (Liszt), 2 Music Directors (Stör and Götze), 2 Chamber Virtuosi (Ferdinand Laub, followed by Edmund Singer),¹⁸⁵ 12 Chamber musicians, 1 Harp player (Jeanne Eyth), 18 Court musicians, 4 Akzessisten, 1 Court pianist (Orchestra: 37 members)

1859 Kapellmeister in extraordinary (Liszt), 2 Music Directors (Stör and Lassen¹⁸⁶), 1 Chamber virtuoso (Edmund Singer), 14 Chamber musicians, 1 Harp player (Jeanne Eyth), 18 Court musicians, 3 Akzessisten, 1 Court pianist (also performing the duties of a Music Director) (Orchestra: 39 members)

In October 1851 the orchestra comprised the following musicians:¹⁸⁷

5 First Violins (Joseph Joachim, Carl Stör, Johann Walbrül, Christian Hart, August Weißenborn)

6 Second Violins (Franke, August Fischer, Müller, Damm, Paul Götze, Weißenborn (jr.))

3 Violas (Gottfried Wintzer, Friedrich Wollweber, August Machts)

¹⁸⁵ The other Chamber Virtuosi are unknown. According to Alan Walker, the Grand Duke changed the title of ‘concert master’ to ‘chamber virtuoso’ when Joseph Joachim resigned in 1853 and was replaced by Ferdinand Laub. The Duke also used this opportunity to reduce the annual salary from 500 thalers to 400. See Walker, *Franz Liszt.*, Vol. 2, 100.

¹⁸⁶ Lassen actually became Music Director on 1 January 1858.

¹⁸⁷ The source for this is also Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 152. The number of musicians here is 38, whereas Huschke tells us elsewhere (p. 207) that there were 36 members of the orchestra in 1851. Presumably there was some fluctuation that year.

4 Cellos (Bernhard Coßmann, Gustav Apel, Eduard Ulrich, Keßner)

3 Double Basses (Schwarz, Wilhelm Börner, Friedrich Ahrens)

2 Flutes (Christian Schöler, Heinrich Kuhnt)

2 Oboes (Gottfried Abbaß, Heinrich Kuhlmann)

2 Clarinets (Ernst Saul, B. Kohlschmidt)

2 Bassoons (Hochstein, Gustav Buch)

4 Horns (Heinrich Klemm, Ernst Sennewald, Julius Wisler, Kiel)

2 Trumpets (Ernst Sachse, Johann Schorcht)

1 Trombone (Moritz Nabich)

1 Tuba (Friedrich Randeckart)

Timpani (Kallenberg)

On top of this there were also a few unpaid members; often children or pupils of the court musicians. Temporary members were also borrowed from other local ensembles.¹⁸⁸ For special events, such as festivals, the orchestra almost doubled in size, as it had done for Berlioz. Musicians would come from the surrounding cities and Liszt would also call on friends and pupils to help.¹⁸⁹ Liszt would then return the favour when an important event was being put on in a nearby city.

Naturally, it was decreed that the Kapellmeister was required to improve the standard of the orchestra, to fill all of the places with ‘capable musicians’, and to remove ‘incapable

¹⁸⁸ Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 152.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 152.

musicians’.¹⁹⁰ This was another duty that Liszt took seriously. Indeed, he did manage to recruit a number of virtuosi. These included the violinist Joseph Joachim, the Cellist Bernhard Coßmann, the trombonist Moritz Nabich, and the harpist Jeanne Pohl (née Eyth). Liszt also managed to procure slightly unusual instruments such as the harp, bass clarinet and cor anglais.

Liszt developed his orchestration techniques in Weimar and his experience of working with these musicians is evident in the symphonic poems. *Orpheus* includes one of the best examples of Liszt’s harp writing, and we will see in Chapter Three that the harp part became much more sophisticated after Jeanne Pohl arrived in Weimar. Exposed harp parts can also be found in several other of the symphonic poems and both the symphonies. Liszt also began to write for bass clarinet once the instrument was bought for the production of *Lohengrin* in 1850. On becoming familiar with the bass clarinet in Weimar Liszt inserted a part into both *Tasso* and *Prometheus* and also included it in the *Dante Symphony*. In this way, his close contact with the musicians of the Weimar Court orchestra gave Liszt the opportunity to learn about the instruments of the orchestra and to develop his own style of orchestration. He would also use the orchestra to try out new ideas. Consequently, many of the revisions to the symphonic poems examined in this thesis made the orchestration more sophisticated and original. These revisions were often undertaken after Liszt had heard the work in performance in rehearsal or at the premiere in Weimar.

Nonetheless, the numbers show that Liszt never received enough financial support to substantially expand the orchestra. It remained at around 36 members for the majority of his tenure. The main weakness was the small number of string players. Liszt’s presence attracted

¹⁹⁰ Unknown author, ‘Instruction für den Hof-kapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheate’, second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar. My translation of ‘mit Eifer, Fleiß und Punctlichkeit’

talented musicians to Weimar, but it was difficult to persuade them to stay because of the low salary that the court offered. Liszt created a small number of positions for 'exceptional' musicians who were given an extra payment from the private purse of the Grand Duchess.¹⁹¹ Even so, the renowned cellist, Bernhard Coßmann, received only 350 Thalers per year.¹⁹² Other regular musicians, such as the tuba player Friedrich Randeckart received a salary of only 200 Thalers, an amount that he found insufficient to live on and support his large family.¹⁹³ The leader of the orchestra, Joachim, received 500 Thalers, but this was not enough to entice him to stay longer than two years.

Another problem was that the majority of the orchestral instruments were owned by the theatre, and the instrumentalists borrowed them. On 20 June 1852, for example, von Ziegesar received a letter from the flautist Heinrich Kuhnt asking to be reimbursed for a flute that he had purchased himself for 40 Thalers and had been using in the orchestra. He asked von Ziegesar to bear in mind that if he decided to sell the instrument or not use it in the orchestra the theatre would have to buy a new one anyway.¹⁹⁴ Several other petitions for new instruments can be found in the files. This suggests that the quality of instruments that the theatre owned was not of a high standard, especially if they had been there for a long while and played by several different musicians.

Nonetheless, Liszt does seem to have improved the orchestra. In 1854 a series of articles by Richard Pohl entitled 'Reisebriefe aus Thüringen' appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. The second, dated 9 June 1854, included detailed comments on the orchestra and it is

¹⁹¹ Huschke, *Franz Liszt Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar*, 126.

¹⁹² Peter Raabe, *Liszts Leben*, Vol. 1, 104.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁹⁴ Heinrich Kuhnt, 'Letter to Ziegesar', 20 June 1852, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar* 1369, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar. My translation of 'Wenn ich mein eigenes Instrument anderweit veraußere, oder sonst im Orchesters nicht verwende, ein neues Instrument angeschafft werden muß.'

worth quoting the report in full. Yet, it is important to bear in mind Pohl's close relationship to Liszt and the fact that his wife played in the orchestra.

The organisation of the orchestra in Weimar is excellent and one feels here as everywhere the rule of Liszt's mind. The orchestra is very strong considering Weimar's circumstances and very harmoniously cast, the strings in the best possible relationship to the wind instruments, a circumstance that occurs infrequently in only a few opera orchestras. Instruments which are searched for to no avail in many orchestras, or can only be produced with effort, such as the bass clarinet and the cor anglais are excellently manned in Weimar; the bass clarinet for example by Walbrühl, who handles the instrument's layout and tone absolutely excellently. The violins are led by the talented Music Director Stör and Laub, the cellos by Coßmann and out of the brass instruments Nabich's trombone amongst others is well known.

It is understandable that an orchestra, which contrary to others is comparatively very low paid, cannot consist only of Virtuosi. But Liszt strives continuously for new improvements and refinements and will, if he is only adequately supported in his intentions, soon create a model orchestra in every respect.¹⁹⁵

Liszt himself also appears to have been pleased with the improvements he had made.

On 18 February 1853, after a successful performance of *Tannhäuser*, he seemed proud of the orchestra and hopeful for the future, telling Wagner, 'Our orchestra is now on a good footing; and as soon as the five or six new engagements which I have proposed have been made, it may boast of being one of the most excellent in Germany.'¹⁹⁶ And on writing again to Wagner at the beginning of 1855, Liszt compared a performance of *Tannhäuser* at Gotha with that at Weimar, saying that, 'The musical part is better with us'.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, on reading Dingelstedt's

¹⁹⁵ My translation of: 'Die Organisation des Orchester's in Weimar ist vortrefflich und man empfindet hier wie überall das Walten des Liszt'schen Geistes. Das Orchester ist für die Weimarer Verhältnisse sehr stark und sehr harmonisch besetzt, das Streichquartett im möglichst richtigen Verhältniß zu den Blasinstrumenten, ein nur bei wenigen Opernorchestern vorkommender seltener Fall. Instrumente, welche man bei vielen Orchestern noch vergeblich sucht, oder nur mit Mühe herbeischaffen kann, wie die Baßclarinette und das englische Horn, sind in Weimar vortrefflich besetzt; die Baßclarinette z. B. durch Walbrühl, der sein in der Bauart und im Ton musterhaftes Instrument ganz vorzüglich behandelt. Die Geigen führt der talentvolle Musikdirector Stör und Laub, die Celli Coßmann, unter den Blechinstrumenten ist u. a. Nabich's Posaune rühmlichst bekannt. Daß in einem Orchester, welches gegen andere Kapellen verhältnißmäßig sehr schwach dortirt ist, nicht lauter Virtuosen sein können, ist begreiflich. Liszt strebt aber fortwährend neue Verbesserungen und Vervollkommnungen an, und wird, wenn er in seinen Bestrebungen nur irgend ausreichend unterstützt wird, bald in jeder Hinsicht ein Musterorchester schaffen.' in Richard Pohl, 'Reisebriefe aus Thüringen II' in *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 24 9 June 1854.

¹⁹⁶ Translation in Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 150 of the original German in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 268 'Unser Orchester steht jetzt auf einem guten Fuß, und sobald die 5 bis 6 neuen Engagements, welche ich schon länger vorgeschlagen habe, getroffen sind, so wird es sich rühmen können, zu den ausgezeichnetsten Deutschlands zu zählen.' (Letter 99 from Liszt to Wagner, 18 Feb 1853)

¹⁹⁷ Translation in Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 237 of the original German in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 400 'Der musikalische Teil ist bei uns besser bestellt' (Letter 177 from Liszt to Wagner, 25 January 1855)

report of the Weimar premiere in August 1850 Wagner feared that the orchestra had outshone the other aspects of his *Lohengrin*:

From this [Dingelstedt's report] I conclude that at the performance the purely musical execution preponderated, that the orchestra—as connoisseurs have told me – was excellent, and that friend Liszt, together with all that immediately depended on him, was the real hero of the performance. If we consider honestly and unselfishly the essence of music, we must own that it is in large measure a means to an end, that end being in rational opera the drama, which is most emphatically placed in the hands of the representatives on stage. That these representatives disappeared for Dingelstedt, that in their stead he only heard the utterance of orchestral instruments, grieves me, for I see that, as regards fire and expression, the singers remained behind the support of the orchestra.¹⁹⁸

Wagner mentions that the singers were weaker than the orchestra. Indeed, initially, Liszt had very few talented singers at his disposal. Berlioz gave an entertaining account of the Weimar chorus in 1841:

I had heard them soon after I arrived, in Marschner's *Vampire*, and knew them for a rabble of unimaginable incompetents, bawling their way through the score with a contempt for the conventions of pitch and rhythm such as I have never heard equalled. As for the female soloists—but but gallantry compels me to draw a veil over those unhappy women.¹⁹⁹

One of Liszt's first acts was to appoint some excellent singers for performances of Wagner operas. Feodor von Milde and Rosa Agthe who later became Milde's wife were early appointments, as was Hermine Haller. Pohl, in the final part of the report from Weimar that appeared in the issue of 1 July 1854, praised the soloists of the Weimar Company, particularly the fact that there no were "divas" among them. He wrote that, although the solo voices were not exceptionally strong or dextrous, they displayed dramatic talent and musical understanding. He particularly praised the Mildes, declared Dr Liebert competent with good

¹⁹⁸ Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 60. (Letter 41, 8 September 1850) The original reads: 'Hieraus ersehe ich, daß in jener Aufführung die *rein musikalische Leistung* die bei weitem vorwiegende war, daß das Orchester – was mir ebenfalls von Sachverständigen versichert wird – vortrefflich, und Freund Liszt – mit allem dem was unmittelbar von ihm abhing – der eigentliche Held der Aufführung war. Wenn wir aber über das Wesen der Musik redlich und ohne Egoismus denken, so müssen wir eingestehen, daß sie im größten Maßstabe doch nur Mittel zum Zweck ist: dieser Zweck aber ist in einer vernünftigen Oper das *Drama*, und dieses ist am bestimmtesten in die Hände *der Darsteller auf der Bühne* gelegt. Daß diese Darsteller für Dingelstedt so verschwanden, daß er statt ihrer nur die Orchesterinstrumente sprechen hörte, betrübt mich, denn ich ersehe, daß sie im Feuer und Ausdruck der Darstellung hinter der Unterstützung des Orchesters zurückblieben. See Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 130-131.

¹⁹⁹ Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, translated and edited by David Cairns (London: Readers Union Victor Gollancz, 1970), 289.

musical understanding, but little dramatic ability, whilst Frl. Fastlinger's voice had improved and she showed an understanding of the intentions of the composer.²⁰⁰

Yet, Pohl also found the chorus itself very weak.²⁰¹ Many of its members were actually actors who were not particularly good singers but were there simply to increase numbers. From 1831 to 52 the chorus comprised 16 female singers, and 16 male.²⁰² And in October 1853 Liszt was still complaining that: 'our weak chorus is a fatal evil. Four or five new engagements have been made for the chorus, but that of course is by no means sufficient.'²⁰³ By 1855 Liszt had succeeded in boosting the numbers to 20 female and 22 male, but from 1856 onwards several singers left or retired without replacement and by 1858 the chorus only consisted of 13 female singers and 14 male.²⁰⁴ It appears that Liszt never managed to achieve the same standard with the chorus as with the orchestra.

The lack of resources at his disposal was a constant obstacle for Liszt. Initially he remained hopeful, writing to Wagner in January 1852:

You may firmly rely upon me for bringing your works at Weymar more and more up to the mark, in the same measure as our theatre in the course of time gets over divers economic considerations, and effects the necessary improvements and additions in chorus, orchestra, scenery, etc.²⁰⁵

But Liszt was not in charge of his own budget and was continually forced to petition the Grand Duke and Duchess for more resources. On 14 January 1852 he wrote a report on the general condition of the Weimar Court Theatre for the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna. It

²⁰⁰ Richard Pohl, 'Reisebriefe aus Thüringen III' in *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 1, 1 July 1854.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 150.

²⁰³ Translation in Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 195 of the original German in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 336: 'obschon die schwache Besetzung unseres Chor-Personals ein fataler Übelstand ist.' (Letter 141 from Liszt to Wagner, 31 October 1853)

²⁰⁴ Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 151.

²⁰⁵ Translation in Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 110 of the original German in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 204 'Du kannst sicherlich auf mich zählen, daß Deine Werke in Weimar stets mehr und mehr aufrecht gehalten werden, so daß nach und nach unser Theater verschiedene ökonomische Rücksichten noch beseitigt, und sowohl im Chor und Orchester, als in der Szenerie die gehörigen Verbesserungen, Vervollständigungen etc. vornimmt!' (Letter 70 from Liszt to Wagner, 15 January 1852)

was largely a plea for more funding.²⁰⁶ By 16 February 1853 Liszt had run out of patience and wrote to Carl Alexander, telling him that he could not go on conducting the orchestra with the resources he had.²⁰⁷ He was also reluctant at this time to perform Beethoven's symphonies with the Weimar orchestra because of their scant resources.²⁰⁸ And similar concerns prevented him performing the Bach Passions.²⁰⁹

Overall, the orchestra did improve significantly under Liszt, perhaps influencing his own compositional choices, which, of course, focussed on orchestral music during this period. Nonetheless, the chorus remained inadequate and lack of financial freedom meant that neither ensemble ever quite lived up to his expectations.

Editing Scores

A common duty associated with the role of Kapellmeister was to make new performing editions of operas produced by the theatre. Wagner, of course, made a new edition of Gluck's *Iphigenie en Aulide*. His early years in the theatre also saw the composition of several vocal numbers for insertion into a variety of operas.²¹⁰ Similarly, Berlioz made an edition of Gluck's *Orpheus*, whilst August Conradi made a vocal score with piano accompaniment and German text of the same opera as Kapellmeister in Stettin.²¹¹ As well as these editions, made for artistic reasons, it was often necessary to cut operatic texts and scores during the nineteenth century in order to suit the forces available and local tastes.²¹² Liszt, therefore, would have been expected to ensure that scores were ready for performance by

²⁰⁶ See Huschke, *Franz Liszt Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar*, 71.

²⁰⁷ Adelheid von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar*, 41.

²⁰⁸ La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 1, 198-9. (Letter 137 to Beaulieu-Marconnay, 21 May 1855)

²⁰⁹ Ibid., Vol. 4, 222-3. (Letter 124 to Princess Wittegenstein, 14 July 1855)

²¹⁰ See Barry Millington, *The New Grove Wagner* (London: Macmillan Reference, 2002), 34.

²¹¹ *Orpheus*: Oper in 3 Aufzügen. Vollständiger Klavierauszug unverkürzt nach der Originalpartitur, mit deutschem und italienischem Text bearbeitet von A. Conradi und J.C. Grünbaum; componirt vom Ritter Gluck (Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1853)

²¹² Patrick Carnegy, *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre*, 8.

requesting necessary cuts and inserts. When a score was ready, the Music Directors would then look through and correct it before parts were written out.²¹³

In conducting works on the Weimar stage, Liszt did consider implementing some cuts and inserts, but always ensured, where practical, that the composer approved. Liszt usually tried as far as possible to perform Wagner operas without cuts, as Wagner was adamant about this. Accordingly, Liszt promised Wagner that the premiere of *Lohengrin* would be given uncut in Weimar²¹⁴ (aside from one cut that Wagner himself insisted on of a passage in the final scene of the third act).²¹⁵ Yet, several of the theatrical staff felt that the performance was too long and it demanded too much of the audience. Some cuts were later recommended to Wagner, but it seems that these were suggested by von Ziegesar and Genast, rather than Liszt, although Liszt approved of them.²¹⁶

Yet, when it came to the second performance of *Benvenuto Cellini* in Weimar in mid-November 1852 Liszt suggested ‘a very considerable cut—nearly a whole tableau’ of which Berlioz approved.²¹⁷ But he left it to Hans von Bülow to actually implement it:

Berlioz’s opera was to be given once more this season, and as I agreed with Liszt’s opinion as to the uselessness of the last act, which only wearies people and sends them to sleep, he proposed that I should make the necessary cuts, as well as the slight alterations in music and text required by these; I discharged myself of this task to Liszt’s satisfaction, although this was my *first* appearance as a rhymers of blank verse.²¹⁸

²¹³ Unknown author, ‘Instruction für den Musik-Dirigenten des Großherzogl. Hoftheaters’, second half of the nineteenth century, Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar, 64, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar. ‘In Musikdirigenten haben die Partituren neuer Entreacte, Singspielen, Melodramen und Ballets durchzusehen und zu corrigieren, bevor di Orchester Stimmen auf Anordnung der Intendanz ausschreiben werden. Zu der Correctur einer solchen Partitur wird ihre acht Tage Zeit gegeben.’

²¹⁴ Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 112. (Letter 35 from Liszt to Wagner, middle of July 1850)

²¹⁵ Ibid., 107. (Letter 33 from Wagner to Liszt, dated 2 July 1850)

²¹⁶ Ibid., 140. (Letter 44 from Liszt to Wagner, 16 September 1850)

²¹⁷ Translation in Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 133 of the original German in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 240 ‘einen sehr beträchtlichen Schnitt (ungefähr ein ganzes Tableaux), den ich Berlioz vorgeschlagen und den er für gut befunden’ (Letter 87 from Liszt to Wagner, 7 October 1852)

²¹⁸ von Bülow, *The Early Correspondence*, 111. (To his mother, 23 May 1852)

Similarly, Liszt also suggested to Schumann that he compose a longer introduction to the first chorus from *Manfred*, though Schumann chose not take this advice.²¹⁹ Liszt did also make some insertions to Gluck's *Orpheus*—Chapter Three discusses in detail the overture and closing music that Liszt composed, which was later reconceptualised as a symphonic poem.

Overall, Liszt's sensitive responses to the works he was conducting naturally inspired ideas for revisions in order to make these works appear to best advantage. Furthermore, he was careful to consult living composers before making any changes, and ultimately would submit to their decisions. Yet, generally, Liszt did not closely involve himself in this part of his role. He probably did not have time, and preferred to delegate such tasks to others. When contemplating a Gluck revival in July 1850, for example, Liszt asked Wagner to prepare the scores for him as a way of earning the ever impecunious composer some money: 'Should you be inclined to undertake in connection with *Alceste*, *Orphee*, *Armide*, and *Iphigenia en Tauride*, by Gluck, a similar task to that which you have already performed for *Iphigénie en Aulide*, and what sum would you expect by way of honorarium?'²²⁰ Undoubtedly, one of Liszt's reasons for this was to provide Wagner with an income, but it also would have saved him the trouble. Wagner was keen to oblige but after this correspondence it seems to have been forgotten. However, *Iphigénie en Aulide* was performed in Weimar in Wagner's arrangement on the birthday of the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna in February 1850.²²¹

²¹⁹ Seibold, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt*, 218.

²²⁰ Translation in Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 51 of the original French in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 114 'Seriez vous disposé par la suite à entreprendre pour l'*Alceste*, *Orphée*, *Armide*, et *Iphigénie en Tauride* de Gluck, un travail analogue à celui que vous avez fait sur l'*Iphigénie en Aulide*? et quelle somme fixeriez-vous pour honoraire?' (Letter 35 from Liszt to Wagner, mid July 1850)

²²¹ Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar*, 199.

Composing for the Theatre

At most courts there was an expectation that the Kapellmeister compose operas.²²² There was no written requirement of this kind from the Weimar court, but there was probably a tacit expectation. Naturally, Liszt's thoughts were turned in this direction for quite some time throughout the Weimar period, possibly because he thought a successful opera would bring him the respect as a composer that he so craved. After protracted difficulties over the libretto, he did begin to write music for Byron's *Sardanapale*, and the project features in his correspondence particularly from 1845-51. After this it seems that Liszt abandoned it partly because of its weak libretto and to appease his mistress Princess Wittgenstein (she was jealous of his friendship with Princess Belgiojoso who was much involved in the project). But equally perhaps his regular conducting of operas at Weimar made him both doubt his abilities in the genre, and grow fearful of the damage that an operatic flop could do to his reputation.²²³ Yet, the desire to write an opera persisted. Liszt's correspondence shows that as late as 1858 he still hoped at some point to complete one.²²⁴ Throughout his time at Weimar Liszt came up with numerous possible topics,²²⁵ and also made some literary visitors promise to provide him with a libretto. Shortly before collaborating with Friedrich Halm on the music to the festival play *Vor hundert Jahren* Liszt met several times with the writer to plan an opera based on the life of Joan of Arc, but in the end nothing came of it.²²⁶ Similarly, Liszt asked Otto Roquette to write a libretto for a gypsy opera when the latter came to stay at the Altenburg in July 1858.

²²² Salieri, for example agreed to compose one opera a year whilst Kapellmeister in Vienna, though in return he asked to be relieved from time-consuming conducting duties. See Jane Schatkin Hettrick and John A. Rice, 'Salieri, Antonio' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. 22, 151.

²²³ See Kenneth Hamilton, 'Not with a bang, but a whimper: The death of Liszt's *Sardanapale*', 45-58 for a detailed account of the gestation and ultimate abandonment of Liszt's *Sardanapale*.

²²⁴ La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 1, 305. (Letter 201 To Professor L. A. Zellner in Vienna, 6 April 1858).

²²⁵ See László Szelényi, 'Liszts Opernpläne' in *Liszt Studien 1* ed. Wolfgang Suppan (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 215-224, for details.

²²⁶ See La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 4, 411 (Letter 303, 13 March 1858); 415 (Letter 307, 22 March 1858); 421 (Letter 311, 29 March 1858) and 435 (Letter 318, 19 April 1858).

Roquette, although reluctant at first, did deliver the libretto, but Liszt did not keep his side of the bargain.²²⁷

For a substantial period before moving to Weimar Liszt was preoccupied with composing an opera. This can only have been exacerbated in Weimar where his daily work in the theatre coupled with new expectations from the court meant opera was never far from his thoughts. But unsatisfactory libretti and his own insecurities meant that nothing came of any of Liszt's opera plans. His operatic legacy, such as it was, would only ever include the early *Don Sanche*, which he composed as a teenager, and the sketches of the unfinished *Sardanapale*. Parallels can be drawn with Berlioz, whose early rejections from Parisian theatres had forced his musico-dramatic ideas in a different direction: the dramatic symphony. But whilst these works have been conceptualised as 'stepping-stones toward the realization of a lifelong dream to write opera',²²⁸ Liszt's symphonic poems along with his two symphonies were to represent the fullest expression of his dramatic ideas.

In addition to opera, it was also expected that the Kapellmeister compose a variety of incidental music for performance with spoken theatre. The documents specifically list 'songs, marches, choruses and "wind-band pieces" (Harmonie-Stücke) requested by the Intendant for performance in the theatre.' Yet, unlike other Kapellmeisters of the time, such as August Conradi,²²⁹ there is little incidental music in Liszt's output. In general, Liszt delegated this to the Music Directors. Stör seems to have been more involved in composition than Götze, as had been Eberwein before him. Both Stör's and Eberwein's names crop up repeatedly in the

²²⁷ Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt by Himself and his Contemporaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 346-8.

²²⁸ Jeffrey A. Langford, 'The "Dramatic Symphonies" of Berlioz...', 103.

²²⁹ Conradi composed a wealth of dramatic works. These included 8 operas, a ballet, numerous posse and music to Goethe's *Der Jahrmarkt zu Plundersweilen*. For a full list see Dieter Siebenkäs, 'Conradi, August [Eduard Moritz]' in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* Vol. 4: Personteil, 1483-4.

theatre repertoire lists from the time in Axel Schröter's, *Der historische Notenbestand des Deutschen Nationaltheaters Weimar*,²³⁰ and on playbills.²³¹

Yet, Liszt's minimal output does not necessarily equate to a lack of interest in incidental music. The 'Instruction für den Hof-kapellmeister der Grossherzoglich Hoftheater' state that melodrama, plays with choruses or dances, ballets, Singspiele, and posse with songs fall into the remit of the Music Directors.²³² It was not, therefore, strictly required of him, but nevertheless Liszt did occasionally conduct incidental music to spoken drama, if he admired the music. He conducted Beethoven's music to *Egmont*, Mendelssohn's music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Meyerbeer's music to *Struensee* whilst at Weimar.²³³ The first two sets of incidental music were also the subject of two of the *Dramaturgische Blätter*.

Liszt, of course, did compose an overture and choruses to Herder's *Der entfesselte Prometheus* for the 1850 Herder Festival.²³⁴ Yet, the static nature of the play, dealing with abstract, inward ideas and an absence of plot, meant it was closer to poetry than drama, and

²³⁰ Axel Schröter, *Der historische Notenbestand des Deutschen Nationaltheaters Weimar* (Katalog Studio Verlag, 2010). Schröter's catalogue shows that the theatre owned incidental music by Eberwein, including some to Goethe's *Faust* and *Proserpina* (see pp. 125 and 128), music by Eduard Lassen for *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet* (see pp. 256 and 259), and music by Götze for Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager* (see page 176).

²³¹ These show that Carl Stör composed the incidental music for the performance of Grans' *Peter und Margarethe* on 13 May 1856, music for the performance of *Heinrich von Schwerin* by Gustav von Meyern that took place on 16 May 1857, and music to the performance of Schiller's *Die Glocke* which took place on 4 September 1857. He also composed music for an *Allegorisches Festspiel* that was performed during the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of the reign of Carl Friedrich on 15 June 1853. See Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters*, 104 and 120-121.

²³² Unknown author, 'Instruction für den Hof-kapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheater', second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar. My translation of: 'Alle musikalischen Gesangwerke, welche den [indecipherable] Oratorium, Cantata oder Oper führen und in den Hoftheater zu Aufführung kommen, dirigiert der Hofkapellmeister. Melodrama, Schauspiele mit Chören oder Tanzen, Ballets, Singspiele und Posen mit Gesang, fallen dagegen in das Ressort der Musik Direktoren.'

²³³ See Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2, Chapter 6: Franz Liszt's bahnbrechende und reformatorische Tätigkeit als Dirigent.

²³⁴ For details see Rainer Kleinertz, 'Liszt's Ouvertüre und Chöre zu Herders *Entfesseltem Prometheus*' in *Liszt und die Weimarer Klassik* ed. Detlef Altenburg (Regensburg: Laaber, 1997), 155-178.

Liszt was wary of a scenic performance, approaching it as an oratorio.²³⁵ Liszt's overture and choruses were not, then, incidental music in the sense that Mendelssohn's was.

Liszt did also compose music to Friedrich Halm's Festival Play, *Vor hundert Jahren*. Both the music and the play were written for Weimar's 1859 Schiller Festival. Liszt's music is unpublished and is largely an arrangement of well-known tunes (suggested by Halm). Yet, he did compose two new numbers: a melodramatic 'Parzenlied' to accompany the three fates spinning the web of Schiller's life and a number to introduce the character 'Poesie'. He reused the melody from the 'Poesie' number in the march from *Christus*, which refers to the three Kings. Although much of the music had already been chosen by Halm, *Vor hundert Jahren* does show a new side to Liszt as a composer, as he had to account for the movements and speech of on-stage actors. Much of the music accompanies speech. Liszt tended to introduce a new melody in a sparse orchestration in the midst of the characters' dialogue. Then a version scored for full orchestra was repeated as the actors arranged themselves into a tableau. At times Liszt also showed sensitivity to the text, reflecting the actors' words in a way unsolicited by Halm's instructions. He also responded to certain technical practicalities. After the short overture there is a separate curtain raiser, for example, and in several places sectional repeats are indicated to cover scene changes.

Liszt did not write extensive music, such as that to *Egmont* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Halm's text certainly did not allow a free approach and it did not provide the inspirational subject matter of Shakespeare and Goethe. Indeed, it is strange that Liszt agreed to the commission, especially as, by this point, he was no longer conducting dramatic productions in Weimar. Nonetheless, Liszt had long contemplated composing incidental pieces, though admittedly along rather more elevated lines. His correspondence with Princess

²³⁵ See Ibid., 157-160.

Carolyn and Dingelstedt shows that he intended to compose incidental music to *The Tempest* and *Oresteia*. Dingelstedt had mentioned the *Tempest* project to Liszt as early as September 1853, as he was occupied with planning a production of the play at the Munich theatre of which he was then Intendant. Dingelstedt appeared excited by the proposed collaboration:

I am also delighted by the prospect, which occurred to me after a comment made by Geibel, of uniting with you to rescue Shakespeare's *Tempest* for the stage. I have already long considered this plan; the first improvement of my adaptation is ready and finished; my mechanic has even made the model of the ship, which is shipwrecked before the eyes of the audience. I have drafted all sorts of, I believe, effective and happy changes, lines, additions and can, if I ever see four quiet weeks, tackle the final composition. The music and also the choreography must help me and I especially need to have serious consultation with the composer in order to tell him my wishes in detail. If you really have the desire and the time for this task, which seems to me as though it had been created for you, I would be truly delighted to solve it hand in hand with you.²³⁶

Dingelstedt suggested that Liszt should come to Munich and together they should tackle *The Tempest* and also discuss the forthcoming production of *Tannhäuser*, which was due to be staged in March 1854.²³⁷

Interestingly, Liszt had actually already improvised on *The Tempest* for friends in August 1853, just prior to receiving this letter. This may well, therefore, have been prompted by the proposed collaboration with Dingelstedt:

From Aldrige's *Othello*, which all of us had seen, we came to talk about Shakespeare in general, first *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Mendelssohn's music, and then *The Tempest*. Here, too, I said, was rich material for a musical setting. Liszt agreed. We went through the principal moments of the enchanting play, and the more we immersed ourselves in the magic world of the great poet the warmer grew our enthusiasm. In the end Liszt sprang up and took his seat at the piano. I have always enjoyed hearing him improvise, but yesterday he played more captivantly than ever. Everything we had been discussing we now heard once more in fantastic musical form: a storm at sea and a shipwreck; fear and love; Caliban's bestial cursing and Stephano's laughing drunkenness; and then again, as though whispering towards us from on high, the silvery notes of Ariel's ivory bell; and at last, over and above all else, the dominion of Prospero as he puts all to rights again, as

²³⁶ La Mara (ed.), *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 292. (Letter 192 from Franz Dingelstedt, 2 September 1853) The original reads: 'Auch entzückt mich die Aussicht, die mir eine Äusserung Geibels eröffnet, mit Dir vereinigt Shakespeares „Sturm“ für die Bühne zu retten. Mit diesem Plan gehe ich lange schon um; der erste Aufzug meiner Bearbeitung ist fix und fertig; mein Maschinist hat sogar schon das Modell des Schiffes gemacht, welches vor den Augen der Zuschauer scheitert. Ich habe allerlei, wie ich glaube, wirksame und glückliche Änderungen, Striche, Zusätze sogar entworfen und kann, wenn ich einmal vier ruhige Wochen vor mir sehe, an die letzte Ausarbeitung gehen. Die Musik und auch der Tanz müssen mir helfen, und namentlich mit dem Compositeur bedarf ich ernster Rücksprache, um in Einzellnem ihm meine Wünsche zu sagen, den seinigen entgegenzuarbeiten. Hast Du wirklich Lust und Zeit für diese Aufgabe, die mir wie für Dich geschaffen scheint, so wird es mich wahrhaft beglücken, sie Hand in Hand mit Dir zu lösen.'

²³⁷ Ibid., 292 (Letter 192)

with his golden wand he subdues the roaring elements and their spirits, and with mellow wisdom smooths and unravels the entanglements of human passion.²³⁸

The anecdote refers to a high level of programmatic specificity that would foreshadow a similar approach that Liszt would later take with *Hamlet*. Accordingly, in Chapter 5 we will see that this symphonic poem also had its origins in incidental music. This suggests that Liszt thought that there should be a very detailed relationship between music and programme in incidental music as opposed to the more general approach of the symphonic poems.

Several more letters were exchanged between Liszt and Dingelstedt, yet eventually both the *Tempest* and *Oresteia* projects seemed to fizzle out.²³⁹ Nonetheless, this protracted, and ultimately unfruitful episode, does show that Liszt was interested in incidental music and his correspondence suggests that he seriously considered composing sets for *Oresteia* and *The Tempest*. He also wrote about the genre in the *Dramaturgische Blätter*, portraying it as a precursor to the ‘music of the future’ in its particular relationship to drama. Clearly, incidental music gave him significant food for thought. It was only time constraints that prevented Liszt from completing his own.

Aside from *Vor hundert Jahren* Liszt did not complete an incidental set, yet he did compose overtures that were inspired by, and performed with plays and operas being put on in Weimar at the time. We have seen that spoken drama and opera took place much more regularly in Weimar than concerts. Weimar’s customs, therefore, encouraged this type of composition. The theatre provided a potential topic and a platform for the premiere. Later on, the overture would be unveiled in the concert hall as an independent work. The following chapters will explore in detail how Liszt took this course with his symphonic poems *Tasso*,

²³⁸ Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, 296.

²³⁹ In the end the German conductor, composer and pianist Wilhelm Taubert composed music to *The Tempest* in 1855, which was performed with the Munich production and also in Weimar on 24 June 1857.

Orpheus, and also *Hamlet* (though this is a slightly different case), and how *Festklänge* also originally appeared as an entr'acte between a play and an opera. In this way, Liszt made his work as Kapellmeister fit in with his own compositional plans.

Liszt also encouraged a similar approach in his pupils. The performance of *Julius Caesar*, for example, that took place in Weimar on 13 December 1851 was accompanied by music by Hans von Bülow.²⁴⁰ Von Bülow wrote with pride to his father about the performance of this, his first major work:

During the last month the ambition and impulse to produce something suddenly seized me. *Julius Caesar* was shortly to be acted, and the idea, which had once seized upon me at a very immature period of my life, to write music to it, took hold of me again, and it really inspired me to a task which I have carried through with industry and love.²⁴¹

Liszt conducted the overture, but naturally left Stör to conduct the entr'acte: a war march composed by Bülow to be played between the fifth and sixth acts. Interestingly, this reveals that Bülow attempted to create a relationship between his entr'acte and the play. Bülow also wrote to his father that he intended to write some battle music so that for the next performance 'they will put on the bill 'Overture and Incidental Music by,' etc.'²⁴² Similarly Joachim Raff's music to Wilhelm Genast's *Bernhard von Weimar* was performed on 2 January 1855. Raff had composed an overture, entr'acte and incidental music.²⁴³

Generally, Liszt was only specifically asked to compose new pieces for particular festivals, celebrations, and anniversaries. These often took the course of marches or rousing choruses. He was asked, for example, to compose 'a march of about 200 bars by command'²⁴⁴ for the coronation of Carl Alexander on 28 August 1853. In the end, however, Carl Alexander

²⁴⁰ It is likely that Liszt's symphonic poem, *Hamlet*, was also initially performed in this way, but there is no definitive record of the performance.

²⁴¹ von Bülow, *The Early Correspondence*, 98. (To his father, dated 14 Decemeber 1851)

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 98.

²⁴³ Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters 1817-1907*, 109.

²⁴⁴ Translation in Hueffer, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, 178 of the original German in Kesting, *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 310 'Ich...habe im Auftrag einen Marsch (von ungefähr 200 Takten) komponiert. (Letter 123 from Liszt to Wagner, 25 July 1853)

did not allow the piece (*Die Huldigungsmarsch*) to be performed, for fear of upsetting his grieving mother.

Yet, even a simple march, like *Die Huldigungsmarsch*, could take on a dramatic function—as an overture or entr’acte. On 23 July 1857 Liszt wrote to Princess Carolyne that he was busy orchestrating his ‘Marches to Goethe and the Grand Duke’ (the *Fest-Marsch zur Goethe-Jubiläum-Feier* and the *Huldigungsmarsch*) and that they would serve as entr’actes to a *Festspiel* by Dingelstedt, which was going to be produced on 4 September 1857 at the beginning of the celebrations for the Carl August jubilee.²⁴⁵ Dingelstedt wrote the *Festspiel*, entitled *Der Aerntekranz* especially for the occasion. It pays homage to Weimar’s literary past. Liszt’s two works, imbued with a sense of heritage and pride in Weimar Classicism (which of course included the Grand Ducal family, as well as writers like Goethe and Schiller) were highly appropriate.

We will also see in Chapter Two that Liszt conducted the *Fest-Marsch zur Goethe-Jubiläum-Feier* as an entr’acte to the performance of Goethe’s *Torquato Tasso* put on for the 1849 Goethe centenary celebrations. Similarly, on 28 August 1860, Liszt wrote to Carolyne that he had been involved in a concert given at Berlin’s Wallner Theatre in honour of Goethe’s birthday. His *Goethe March* made up part of the concert programme, and it was followed by a performance of Goethe’s tragedy *Clavigo*.²⁴⁶ Liszt was consistent, therefore, in programming the work on occasions associated with Goethe and as a complement to Goethe’s dramatic works.

Liszt composed several other marches for Weimar occasions. For the unveiling of the Goethe and Schiller monument in 1857 he composed a *Festvorspiel* and for the 1859 Schiller

²⁴⁵ La Mara (ed.), *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 4, 381. (Letter 284 to Princess Carolyne, 23 July 1857)

²⁴⁶ Williams, *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters*, 513. (Letter 448 to Princess Carolyne, 28 August 1860).

Festival Liszt completed the *Künstler Festzug* (begun in 1857) and the *Festlied zu Schiller's Jubelfeier*. Liszt also felt that his 'Schiller compositions' could function as appropriate introductions to dramatic performances associated with Schiller. For example, the manuscript of *Vor hundert Jahren* (Ms.mus.L.14) held at the Franz Liszt Memorial Museum in Budapest contains a note that says that if it is desired that a performance of *Vor hundert Jahren* is preceded by a longer orchestral piece, two pieces are recommended: either Liszt's *Künstler Festzug* or his *Festvorspiel*.

Table 1: Liszt Works originally associated with Weimar Festivals/Productions³⁴²

Piece	Occasion	Composed	First Performance	Notes
<i>Ouverture de Tasso von Goethe</i>	Celebration of the centenary of Goethe's birth, 1849	1847-57	Weimar, 28 August 1849, cond. Liszt as an overture to <i>Torquato Tasso</i> .	Later revised as the symphonic poem <i>Tasso: lamento e trionfo</i>
<i>Goethe-Festmarsch</i>	Celebration of the centenary of Goethe's birth, 1849	1849-57	Weimar, 28 August 1849 as entr'acte during the performance of <i>Torquato Tasso</i> .	Revised version performed on 4 September 1857 as an entr'acte to Dingelstedt's <i>Der Aerntekranz</i> as part of the Carl Alexander Festival and in Berlin (Wallner Theatre August 1860—precise date unknown) before a performance of Goethe's <i>Clavigo</i> .
<i>Ouverture und Chöre zu Herders entfesseltem Prometheus</i>	Herder-Goethe Festival, 1850	Overture/Symphonic Poem: 1850-55; Choruses: First version: 1850, Second version: 1855-59	Weimar, 24 August 1850, cond. Liszt as an incidental set to Goethe's play.	Revised as symphonic poem, <i>Prometheus</i> . First performance as symphonic poem: Brunswick, 18 October 1855, cond. Liszt. But still being performed as overture and choruses in Weimar as late as 1861. ³⁴³
<i>Festchor zur Enthüllung des Herder-Denkmal in Weimar</i>	Herder-Goethe Festival, 1850	1850	Weimar, 25 August 1850	

³⁴² Based on the work list by Maria Eckhardt and Rena Mueller in Alan Walker's article 'Liszt, Franz' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (2nd edn, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), xiv, 785- 872 and on Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Liszt's "Weimar Mythology"' in *Liszt and his World* Franz Liszt Studies Series 5 ed. Michael Saffle (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1998), 63-66.

³⁴³ See Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters 1817-1907*, 135, and Huschke 'Tafeln und Abbildungen' in *Musik im Klassischen und Nachklassischen Weimar 1756-1861*.

<i>Huldigungsmarsch</i>	The inauguration of Carl Alexander as Grand Duke of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach	1853-7	4 September 1857 as an entr'acte to Dingelstedt's <i>Der Aerntekranz</i> as part of the Carl Alexander Festival.	Ded. Grand Duke Carl Alexander, and commissioned by the same but was not performed at the inauguration ceremony on 28 August 1853 because the new Duke banished music from the castle to avoid upsetting his grieving mother. The trio section was later used for <i>Weimars Volkslied</i> . ³⁴⁴
<i>Orpheus</i> (Overture and closing music to Gluck's opera)	Birthday of the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna	1853-4	Weimar, 16 February 1854 as an overture to Gluck's opera. First Performance as symphonic poem: 10 November 1854.	Later Liszt revised the overture as a symphonic poem.
<i>Festklänge</i>	50 th jubilee of Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna.	1853-61	Weimar, 9 November, 1854. Entr'acte performed between Schiller's <i>Huldigung der Künste</i> (incidental music by C. Stör) and Rubinstein's <i>Die sibirischen Jäger</i> .	This piece is also said to have been written for the celebration of Liszt's long-awaited marriage to Princess Wittgenstein. See Chapter Four for a discussion of why this is unlikely.
<i>Festvorspiel</i>	The unveiling of	1857	Weimar, 4	Recommended as an overture to <i>Vor</i>

³⁴⁴ See Walker, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 166.

	the Goethe and Schiller monument		September 1857, cond. Liszt	<i>hundert Jahren.</i>
<i>Faust Symphony</i>	The unveiling of the Goethe and Schiller monument	1854-61	Weimar, 5 September 1857, cond. Liszt	The Chorus mysticus was added after the Weimar premiere.
<i>Die Ideale</i>	The unveiling of the Goethe and Schiller monument	1856-7	Weimar, 5 September 1857, cond. Liszt	
<i>Weimars Volkslied</i>	The unveiling of the Goethe and Schiller monument and the Carl August Feier	1857	Weimar, 5 September 1857	Based on the second theme of the <i>Huldigungsmarsch</i>
<i>An die Künstler</i> (Third Version)	The unveiling of the Goethe and Schiller monument	1 st version: 1853, 2 nd version: 1853-4, 3 rd version: 1856-7	1 st version: Karlsruhe, 3 October 1853, cond. Liszt; 2 nd version Weimar, 24 February 1854, cond. Liszt; 3 rd version: Weimar, 5 September 1857, cond. Liszt.	
<i>Künstlerfestzug zur Schillerfeier, 1859</i>	Conceived for the unveiling of the Goethe and	1857-59		Based on themes from <i>Die Ideale</i> and <i>An die Künstler</i> . Recommended as an overture to <i>Vor hundert Jahren</i> .

	Schiller monument in 1857 but completed for the 1859 Schiller Festival.			
<i>Vor Hundert Jahren</i>	The Schiller Festival, 1859	1859	Performed on Schiller's birthday at the Weimar Court Theatre	Melodrama. Text by Friedrich Halm. Orchestral accompaniment. A melody in the march of the Three Kings from the first part of <i>Christus</i> was taken from <i>Vor Hundert Jahren</i> .
<i>Hamlet</i>	Composed after meeting Bogumil Dawison on his visit to Weimar to give a series of guest appearances, including in <i>Hamlet</i> as the title character.	1858	According to Grove the overture was performed at a private performance of <i>Hamlet</i> in Weimar, 25 June 1858, cond. Liszt. Yet, this seems unlikely (see chapter 5 for details). 1 st perf. as symphonic poem: Sondershausen, 2 July 1876, cond. M. Erdmannsdörfer	

Liszt's work as Kapellmeister has been largely neglected in Liszt literature, but he was, particularly in the early years, heavily involved in the running of the theatre and he fulfilled the majority of the duties identified in his job description. During the Weimar years he was constantly surrounded by actors and musicians, and involved in spoken drama, opera, and concerts. And it was also a time of great change in the theatre, when Goethe's Classicism, though still prevalent in Weimar, was gradually being replaced by Realism.

All of this created a rich context for composition. Accordingly these years were some of the most fertile of Liszt's life. And, crucially, Weimar offered him the opportunity to "try out" these new compositions before taking them to a wider audience. All but one of the symphonic poems and the *Faust symphony* were premiered in Weimar. And the strength of the orchestra compared to the chorus combined with the strengths of individual musicians undoubtedly had a significant impact on Liszt's choice of forces and his treatment of them.

Liszt's time in Weimar was his first real involvement with the world of the theatre. It was an excellent place to develop his ideas about music and drama, and specifically to formulate his new musico-dramatic genre: the symphonic poem. His work as conductor and the new expectations on his compositional output constantly pushed him in this direction. Equally, the performance traditions of Weimar, the number of dramatic productions compared to concerts, the fluidity between staged and concert genres, and the repertoire available for concert programmes encouraged Liszt to develop his thinking on his own unique blending of musical and dramatic genres. Furthermore, Liszt's carefully chosen conducting repertoire and the *Dramaturgische Blätter* suggest that he wanted his symphonic poems to be understood in this context as a continuation of dramatic genres such as incidental music or opera.

In the end, Liszt's championing of new compositions became too much for the establishment and he was driven to resignation, but his work as Kapellmeister left a lasting

legacy in the form of his music, and it is mistaken to attempt to separate them completely, at least if we wish to come to a detailed understanding of the genesis of the pieces themselves. The following chapters will investigate in closer detail the influence of Liszt's work as Kapellmeister of the Weimar Court Theatre on four of the symphonic poems: *Orpheus*, *Tasso*, *Festklänge*, and *Hamlet*. They will consider these compositions in their original performance contexts as overtures or entr'actes supporting dramatic productions. This re-contextualisation will reveal that dramatic works and Weimar's festival traditions influenced these pieces and Liszt's approach to the genre of the symphonic poem in ways rarely considered by Liszt scholars.

Chapter Two: Poetry and Drama in *Tasso*

Tasso has a unique position amongst the symphonic poems. It was the first of Liszt's symphonic works that he conducted in Weimar, in fact the first he had conducted anywhere since his *Beethoven Cantata* in 1845.¹ Not only that, it was the first of his symphonic works to be premiered as an overture to a dramatic production, in an early version entitled *Lamento e Trionfo: Ouverture zur Vorstellung des Torquato Tasso von Goethe am 28ten August 1849 in Weimar*. The work was performed, as the subtitle suggests, as an overture to Goethe's play as part of the 1849 Goethe Festival. Indeed, on 28 August the centenary of Goethe's birth was celebrated in many parts of Germany. As the home of Goethe, the festivities in Weimar drew national attention and Liszt, naturally, was responsible for the musical aspects.

This was the first festival in which Liszt was involved at Weimar and the first time he was expected to compose a new substantial symphonic work. Yet at first he was reluctant to participate. At this time his ambitions regarding dramatic forms were entirely centred on his opera, *Sardanapale*. In contrast, his projected orchestral series, as we have already seen, was not originally influenced by dramatic forms or intended for performance in a dramatic context, but rather had its roots in poetry. This chapter will argue that, like *Ce qu'on entend* and *Les Préludes*, *Tasso* also began life as a 'symphonic poem' in a very literal sense, inspired by Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. But the requirements of his role in Weimar necessitated that Liszt, however reluctantly, submit his orchestral piece on Byron's poem as a dramatic overture. Accordingly, the piece became an overture to Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* (Liszt's first mature attempt in the genre).² Hearing the work in this context seems to have

¹ Liszt conducted the work at the unveiling of the Beethoven monument in Bonn. See Alexander Rehding, 'Liszt's Musical Monuments', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer 2002), 52-72 for a full discussion of this work and its premiere.

² Liszt's experience of composing the overture to his opera, *Don Sanche*, as a teenager had given him some experience in this area. Yet *Tasso* was his first mature attempt in the genre, representing a rather more developed and personal style. For details of *Don Sanche* see Humphrey Searle, 'Liszt's "Don Sanche"', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 118, No. 1616 (1977), 815-17.

broadened Liszt's conception of what a symphonic poem could be. After this experience, his symphonic series would draw still further on dramatic forms in conception and be associated with them in performance.

Liszt eventually agreed to conduct *Lamento e Trionfo* as an overture to the production of Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* that was put on during the festival, as well as four entr'actes, one of which was also composed by him. As this was the first time that Liszt had composed an overture to a play, he looked to Beethoven for a suitable model, and was influenced by the traditional expectations of the overture form. This was an important experience for Liszt in his early experiments in mapping various programmes onto traditional musical forms, negotiating a fluid relationship between the two. *Tasso* also, then, provided an important experience of developing ideas that he would continue to work with throughout the series of symphonic poems.

Liszt composed a number of other 'Goethe compositions' for the occasion, which were published in a *Goethe Album*, but he did not include *Lamento e Trionfo*. He had more ambitious plans for this work and the composition continued to develop through subsequent versions. This chapter will focus primarily on the version of the symphonic poem that was performed with Goethe's play in order to assess the impact of the Goethe Festival. But it will also draw on the other available versions as appropriate. These include:

Table 1: the Existing *Tasso* Manuscripts

Archive/Signature	Description
Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar – N1	Brief thematic outline
Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar - N5	Liszt's first sketch in the 'Tasso Sketchbook', August 1847. (2-4 staves with orchestration indications)
GSA 60/B22c	Conradi's first copy (in his own sketchbook). A copy of Liszt's sketch with orchestration indications realised.
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg - Hs 107016	Conradi's second copy. The score used at the premiere. Incorporates Liszt's annotations to the previous copy.
GSA 60/A2b	Raff's first copy. Includes Liszt's annotations to Conradi's second copy as well as Raff's own orchestration ideas. Made between 1850-51
GSA 60/A2c	Liszt's corrections sheets relating to Raff's copy. The most significant of these is the addition of the minuet section, probably composed in 1853
GSA 60/A2a	Raff's second copy. This version is very similar to the published score and was probably performed at the Court Concert in Weimar on 19 April 1854, when <i>Tasso</i> was first advertised as a 'Symphonic Poem'

Liszt's disinclination to compose an overture to *Torquato Tasso* coupled with the influence of *Childe Harold* and his own obfuscatory comments in the preface to the work make for a programme that is both complex and contradictory. This chapter will begin by attempting to unravel the changing programmatic influences behind the work and Liszt's developing conception of its genre and function. It will identify the various generic and stylistic 'signifiers' that were introduced at different stages throughout the compositional process in order to demonstrate how Liszt used them to suggest alternative programmes. In particular, the chapter will relate these changes to the intended performance circumstances of the premiere. To this end, the chapter will firstly compare all available versions in order to draw conclusions regarding Liszt's approach to his programme. However, it will concentrate

particularly on the ‘overture’ version of the work, considering how it and the other entr’actes Liszt chose functioned in conjunction with the play.

The second part will then trace how the form of the work developed over time to evaluate the structural implications of Liszt’s conception of genre. Such an investigation sheds important light on Liszt’s attitude towards his role as Kapellmeister, specifically his initial reluctance to be involved in incidental music, the development of his aesthetic ideas on the relationship between programme and form, and his evolving conception of the symphonic poem as a genre.

Evolving conceptions, shifting programmes

I: From ‘Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage’ to ‘Torquato Tasso’

The programmatic subject of *Tasso* appears initially to be far less complicated than that of some of the other symphonic poems. It has been well-documented that *Les Préludes*, for example, was originally composed as an overture to Autran’s *Les Quatres Éléments*, but when it was finally published Liszt’s preface claimed it was actually inspired by Lamartine’s poem of the same name.³ In his preface to *Tasso* Liszt tells us that the work was first performed in Weimar as an overture to Goethe’s play.⁴ This seems quite straightforward, yet an examination of the development of the piece reveals a far more convoluted programmatic history than Liszt suggests.

Liszt’s preface does not reveal that he had already used his ‘Tasso melody’ in the original (posthumously published) version of the first piano piece in his collection ‘Venezia e Napoli’. Undoubtedly this was a deliberate decision to preserve the integrity of the aesthetic philosophy of the symphonic poems (at least as Liszt wanted it to be understood). The Tasso

³ See Andrew Bonner, ‘Liszt’s “Les Préludes” and “Les Quatre Éléments”: a Reinvestigation’, *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1986), 95-107.

⁴ Franz Liszt, ‘Preface to Tasso’, in *Franz Liszt Symphonische Dichtungen für Orchester* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel), X.

melody appears at bar 22 of the piano piece, and over the top Liszt writes ‘The Gondolier’s Song’:

Ex. 1: Liszt, *Venezia e Napolo*, no. 1, bb. 22-52

Gondolier-Gesang. — *Chant du Gondolier.*
The Gondolier's song. — *a gondolás dala.*

mp
il canto marcato ed espressivo assai

marcato assai

The image displays a musical score for piano, consisting of two systems of staves. The first system includes a grand staff (treble and bass clef) and a separate staff labeled "Ossia." The second system also features a grand staff. The music is written in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes complex chords, arpeggios, and various musical symbols such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings. The tempo/mood is indicated as "Un poco agitato." and the dynamics include "cresc." (crescendo).

Ossia.

Un poco agitato.

cresc.



It is likely that Liszt began composing this piece after his first trip to Venice in April and May 1838.⁵ On his return to Venice in the autumn of 1839 he described to Marie d'Agoult a gondola ride he had taken. He had asked the boatman to 'sing me something from

⁵ See Dieter Torkewitz, 'Liszt's Tasso' in *Torquato Tasso in Deutschland: Seine Wirkung in Literatur, Kunst und Musik seit der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Achim Aurnhammer (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 325 and the editors' notes in Jacqueline Bellas and Serge Gut (eds), *Correspondance Franz Liszt Marie d'Agoult* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), 399.

Tasso, which in a raucous and broken voice he did. The melody is very much like the one I wrote down.⁶ It was upon this melody that the piano piece was based (it provided the sole thematic material for this work).

Dieter Torkewitz has found this melody (with some rhythmic differences) in Antonio Berti's *Le voci del popolo* (Padua, 1842), a collection of popular songs from the time.⁷ It was often sung by Venetian gondoliers to the words from the beginning of Tasso's *Jerusalem Liberated*, and so provides a good impression of what Liszt would likely have heard.

Ex. 2: Song collection *Ariette popolare, raccolte de Theodore Zacco* in Antonio Berti: *Le voci del popolo* (Padua 1842), reproduced in Torkewitz, 'Liszt's Tasso', 324.

Sostenuto

Can to l'ar - mi pie -tose - e il Ca pi ta no Che'l gran Se -

pol - cro li -be - ro - di Cri - sto. Mol - to eglio

pro col sen - no e con la ma - no Mol - to sof - fri

nel gol - ri - o - so acqui - sto.

Liszt's visit to Venice was intimately associated in his mind with his personal relationship with the work of Byron. We know from Liszt's letters that Byron was a particular influence

⁶ Williams, *Selected Letters*, 112 (Letter to Marie d'Agoult, 25 October 1839). This seems to refer to a melody Liszt wrote down on his first visit to Venice with Marie the year before.

⁷ See Torkewitz, 'Liszt's Tasso', 324.

on the composer during the 1830s and early 1840s.⁸ The figure of the Romantic poet was present during Liszt's ride on the gondola. In the same letter to Marie d'Agoult of 25 October 1839, Liszt also recalled:

Neither of us said anything until we came to the Palazzo Foscari, which he pointed out to me.

"The Emperor came here to see the celebrations—and here (at the Palazzo Mocenigo) lived Lord Byron." (He pronounced it the English way.)

"What?—Lord Byron?"—"Si Signore."—"Did you know him?"—"Si Signore. I served him for five days because one of his boatmen was ill."

Thereupon he gave me several details about Lord Byron... The gondolier told me, too, that he had made a copy of a couple of pieces by Lord Byron while Milord was riding on the Lido. He recited them to me. The first was a hymn of praise to Italy; the second a satire and curse on the same country. I listened without understanding too well what he was saying.⁹

The original opening piece of *Venezia e Napoli* did not have a title and contained no overt references to Tasso (other than the associations accompanying the gondolier song). Klara Hamburger has found that the Tasso melody also appears in the *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne* sketchbook (N1).¹⁰ Over the top of the melody Liszt wrote 'I stood in Venice, on the Bridge of Sighs'. This famous line is, of course, from Byron's poem, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* Canto IV. Liszt must have felt that the third verse of the fourth Canto in particular echoed his own experience vividly. An extract from this Canto reproduced at the head of the piano piece may have made a very apposite addition (just as quotations from this poem were reproduced at the head of *Le lac de Wallenstadt* and *Orage* from the first book of the *Années*

⁸ For examples see Williams, *Selected Letters*, 7, 43, 96-7, 146, 152, and 168. Maria Eckhardt and Evelyn Liepsch have discovered that Liszt definitely owned an 1842 French translation by A. Pichot of Byron's complete works. (See Maria Eckhardt and Evelyn Liepsch, *Franz Liszt's Weimarer Bibliothek* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1999), 28.) Of course we do not know when Liszt owned this copy, and he refers to other editions in his letters, yet we can be fairly certain that he was very familiar with Byron's works in a French translation, and that this enthusiasm was at its strongest during the 1830s and early 1840s. Dana Gooley also refers to comparisons often made between Liszt's physical appearance and that of Byron and Napoleon. Gooley argues that this formed part of Liszt's public image. See Gooley, 'Warhorses: Liszt, Weber's *Konzertstück*, and the Cult of Napoléon', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 24 (2000), 62-88, see particularly 69. See also the Josef Danhauser's 1840 painting, 'Liszt am Flügel', where a picture of Byron overlooks Liszt at the piano. A small reproduction of the painting can be found in Katharine Ellis, 'The Romantic Artist', in *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* ed. Kenneth Hamilton (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9.

⁹ Williams, *Selected Letters*, 112 (Letter to Marie d'Agoult, 25 October 1839).

¹⁰ Klara Hamburger, 'Trois odes funèbres', conference paper given at *Liszt and the arts*, Budapest 2011. According to Rena Mueller, this sketchbook dates from around 1845 (see Rena Charnin Mueller, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Chronology', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 28 (1986), 18), yet the inclusion of the 'Gondolier theme' suggests that it may date from even earlier than this—perhaps from around 1839-40.

de pèlerinage). A reference to Tasso can be found here, yet the poet is only present in the image of the gondoliers' absent song:

In Venice Tasso's echoes are no more,
And silent rows the songless gondolier;
Her palaces are crumbling to the shore,
And music meets not always now the ear:
Those days are gone—but Beauty still is here.
States fall, arts fade—but Nature doth not die,
Nor yet forget how Venice once was dear,
The pleasant place of all festivity,
The revel of the earth, the masque of Italy!¹¹

The title of the collection: *Venezia e Napoli* and the association that Liszt appears to have made with *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* suggests that at this time Liszt intended a musical interpretation of Byron's image of Venice in the poem, rather than reflections on the life of the poet Tasso (still less a response to Goethe's play). The C minor-C major trajectory was perhaps initially influenced by the course of Byron's verse: beginning with a lament over the present image of a faded Venice and ending in the joyful memory of the city's past glories. Even in the published score the majestic E major section makes more sense with reference to Byron's verse than to the explanation in Liszt's preface. Liszt writes that the first section of his symphonic poem portrays 'the spirit of the hero as it now appears to us, haunting the lagunes of Venice.'¹² This seems a fitting interpretation of the C minor part of this first section (Ex. 3), but not of the proud E major brass arrangement of the main theme that begins with the *Meno Adagio* at bar 131 (Ex. 4).

¹¹ George Gordon Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* Canto IV, Verse 3 in *Lord Byron: Everyman's Poetry Series* ed. Jane Stabler (J.M. Dent: London, 1997), 38.

¹² Liszt, 'Preface to *Tasso*', X.

Ex. 3: Liszt, *Tasso*, bb. 62-75

B Adagio mesto. Pausa.

Bassclar. in B. *f* espressivo.

Hr. in B. *pp*

Hr. in C. *pp*

Harfe. *ff*

B Adagio mesto.

Violon. pizz.

*) 3 Vclle. Con Sordino. *f* espressivo. pizz.

Ein C. Bass, die übrigen tacet.

B Adagio mesto.

*) In Ermangelung der Bassclarinette ist das Motiv durch 3 Violoncelle auszuführen.

dim. - *pp* *rit.*

pp *pp* *pp*

f

rit. *dim.* - *pp*

rit. *pp* *smorz.*

Muta in C. *rit.* *pp* *smorz.* Muta in E.

rit. *f*

Violinen. *rit.* *divisi.* *espressivo.* *p* *arco.* *p* *arco.* *p*

rit. *al.* *rit.* *rit.*

Ex. 4: Liszt, *Tasso*, bb. 131-5

D **Meno Adagio.**
Tromp. in E.

Pos. *con grandezza.*

Pos. Tb.

Hf. *ff*

Meno Adagio.

pizz.

f

pizz.

f

pizz.

D **Meno Adagio.**



Rather, the E major section (to be played *con grandezza*: with dignity or grandeur) seems to depict Byron's Venice once again:

She looks a sea Cybele, fresh from ocean,
 Rising with her tiara of proud towers
 At airy distance, with majestic motion,
 A ruler of the waters and their powers:
 And such she was—her daughters had their dowers
 From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless East
 Pour'd in her lap all gems in sparkling showers.
 In purple was she robed, and of her feast
 Monarchs partook, and deem'd their dignity increas'd.¹³

In 1840 it seems that Liszt came very close to publishing the original version of *Venezia e Napoli*,¹⁴ yet the opening work of this collection did not actually appear until after

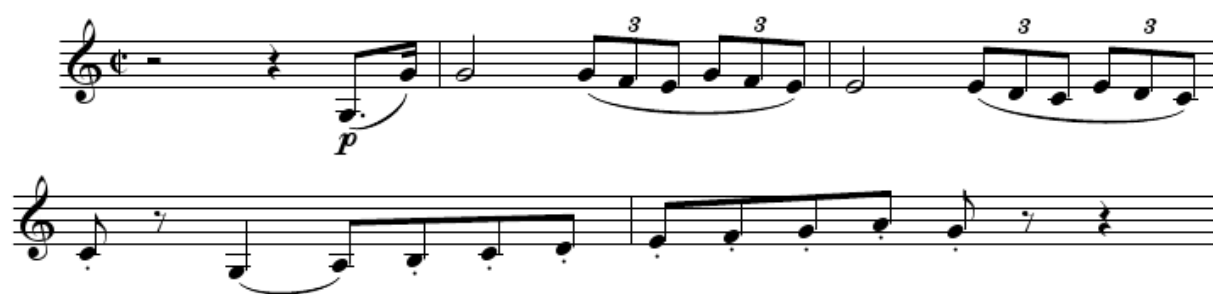
¹³ Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* Canto IV, Verse 2, 38.

¹⁴ See Torkewitz, 'Liszt's *Tasso*', 325 and Rena Charnin Mueller, 'Liszt's *Tasso* Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Revisions', Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1986), 283. According to Mueller, the piano set was advertised in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* and the pieces were actually engraved. The plates were later

his death. Perhaps Liszt held back because he had foreseen its potential as an orchestral work. Yet, he did not begin to rework the piece for orchestra until 1847. The first sketch appears in the Tasso Sketchbook N5 held at the Goethe and Schiller Archive in Weimar. The date of the sketch was mistaken by Peter Raabe who read it as ‘1 August 49’. Raabe believed that Liszt began work on the piece shortly before the Weimar festival because it had been commissioned for this occasion, yet more recently Rena Mueller has found that the date must in fact read ‘1 August 1847’.¹⁵ The *Tasso* draft in the sketchbook is on 2-4 staves and there are several instrumental cues, indicating that an orchestral work was definitely envisioned at this stage. Significantly, it was around this time that Liszt began contemplating an orchestral series based on poetry and compiled a short list of possible poems.¹⁶

This orchestrated version did not initially carry a title. *Lamento e Trionfo* was added in pencil at a later date.¹⁷ Even as he began the N5 orchestral draft it is, therefore, unlikely that Liszt intended the work to depict the life of Tasso. The draft corresponds closely to the piano piece in *Venezia e Napoli*. The main addition was a new joyful transformation of the main theme (that occurs in the published score at bar 397).

Ex. 5: Liszt, *Tasso*, bb. 396-400



rediscovered by Ferruccio Busoni, and the score first published in the Franz Liszt Stiftung Edition of Liszt's works.

¹⁵ Mueller, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Chronology', 288.

¹⁶ See the Introduction.

¹⁷ Mueller, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Revisions' (Ph.D. diss.), 288. The precise date is unknown.

This does not occur in the piano piece, which ends with a C major version of the main theme (that in the *Moderato pomposo* section from b. 533 in the published score of the symphonic poem), rather than a new transformation. Again, this triumphant transformation seems to make more sense in connection with Byron's *Childe Harold* than with *Tasso*. Liszt tells us in his preface to the score that this section depicts Tasso in Rome where he was 'glorified as a martyr and a poet'.¹⁸ This is surely the 'Trionfo' of the subtitle, but the character of this section is perhaps less gloriously triumphant than joyful and festive. It seems able to depict Byron's lines:

Nor yet forget how Venice once was dear,
The pleasant place of all festivity,
The revel of the earth, the masque of Italy!

Yet, it is possible that Liszt soon began to connect the piece with another poem:

Byron's *Lament of Tasso*, which he would later mention in his preface to the symphonic poem, even suggesting it was a greater influence than Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*.¹⁹ Again, Liszt probably found it more natural to refer to poetry at this stage in the conception of the symphonic poems than to other mediums. The influence of *Lament of Tasso* is reflected in the title of the sketch: 'Lamento e Trionfo', that we have seen was added in after Liszt had completed the N5 sketch.

Byron's *Lament of Tasso* presents a highly romanticized view of the Italian poet, which would have appealed to Liszt. Tasso appears as a tragic figure in his prison cell, unappreciated in his own time. His patron, Duke Alphonso, is presented as a tyrant who has imprisoned the poet because of his love for the Duke's sister. Tasso is entirely a victim of conspiracies. As well as adding the 'Trionfo' to the N5 sketch, Liszt also added an introduction that is very similar to that of the published symphonic poem. It is bleak and agitated, and this at least seems more related to Tasso's despair in the *Lament of Tasso*, than

¹⁸ Liszt, 'Preface to *Tasso*', X.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, X.

to Byron's depiction of Italy in *Childe Harold*. The programme of the piece thus became intertextual, but the conception was still that of a poetically-inspired orchestral work.

After completing this first sketch, Liszt put it aside for some time. Yet, something prompted him to return to it to compose another section further on in the same notebook, which he entitled 'Fortsetzung der Tasso' [Continuation of Tasso]. Significantly, this was the first indication in the evolution of the piece that it was directly connected to Goethe's *Tasso*.

Rena Mueller's detailed study of the N5 sketchbook has enabled her to conclude that the 'Fortsetzung der Tasso' must have been written after February 1848.²⁰ We cannot know exactly how long afterwards this was, but it seems probable that it was not until the late spring or early summer of 1849—when Liszt likely received his commission to compose an overture to *Tasso*. Liszt's letters to Schumann suggest that plans for the Goethe Festival only began in June and July. Schumann wrote to Liszt on 21 July saying that he would like his *Scenes from Faust* to be performed at Weimar's Goethe Festival.²¹ Liszt must, then, have mentioned the festival before 21 July, perhaps in a letter that is now missing. Liszt spent the majority of June and July in Weimar, and it is likely that he composed the 'Fortsetzung' at this point and gave the draft to Conradi to copy into his own sketchbook (D-WRgs 60/B22c).²² It seems that it was the commission for a *Tasso* overture that prompted Liszt to revisit a work that, although perhaps not originally intended to depict the Italian poet, could easily be associated with Tasso, and this prompted the use of the title 'Tasso' for the first time in the *Fortsetzung*.

²⁰ Mueller, 'Liszt's *Tasso* Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Chronology', 288.

²¹ Wolfgang Seibold, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt: im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenz und Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main; Oxford: P. Lange, 2005), 211.

²² Before this, Liszt's compositional plans during his first season in Weimar had largely focused on works inspired by the revolutions that were spreading across Europe, including *Hungaria*, reignited plans for a *Revolutionary Symphony*, and *Funérailles*. His attention had also been occupied by Wagner. He supported the composer both financially and artistically, even sheltering him for a brief time in Weimar, and planned the Weimar premiere of *Tannhäuser*, which took place on 16 February 1849.

Eventually, Liszt decided to give the version performed at the Goethe Festival the title ‘Lamento e Trionfo: Ouverture zur Vorstellung des Torquato Tasso von Goethe am 28ten August 1849 in Weimar componirt von Liszt’. The main title of the work at this stage, then, was *Lamento e Trionfo* with *Tasso* as a subtitle. This is also true of the next version (GSA 60/A2b): a copy made by Raff in 1850 incorporating Liszt’s corrections. The final title, *Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo* did not occur until Raff’s final copy (GSA 60/A2a). The evolving title suggests the Tasso connection was intensified with each new revision, until ironically, the final version, destined as an independent orchestral work for the concert hall, was the only one significantly, if still only partially, indebted to Goethe’s play. It also mirrors Liszt’s position towards working with spoken drama, which appears at first to have been ambivalent, if not entirely reluctant. These hypotheses are borne out by an investigation of the overture manuscript and the context in which it was revised.

II: Liszt, the Reluctant Dramatist

Liszt’s correspondence reveals that musical preparations for the Goethe Festival were made at a very late stage. They were not completely finalised until early August, partly, it seems, because of Liszt’s ambivalence. Having received Schumann’s letter of 21 July, suggesting that Liszt might like to conduct his *Scenes from Faust* during the festival, Liszt replied on the 27th, informing Schumann that his doctor had recommended that he take a water cure for six weeks. This meant that he would have to miss the Goethe Festival and so would not be able to conduct the work. Liszt suggested that they postpone the performance until a later date²³—evidently he did not trust a deputy to conduct Schumann’s work.

²³ See La Mara (ed.), *Franz Liszt’s Briefe* Vol. 1 of 8 (Leipzig, 1893-1905), 79-80 (Letter 61 to Robert Schumann, 27 July 1849, Weimar). It was not possible for Schumann to conduct the work because simultaneous performances of the *Scenes from Faust* were due to take place at the Leipzig and Dresden Goethe festivals and Schumann was due to conduct the concluding scene (Faust’s Transfiguration) at the Dresden premiere. See Peter F. Ostwald, *Schumann: the Inner Voices of a Musical Genius* (Massachusetts: Northeastern University Press, 1985), 226.

Schumann responded on 29 July saying that he hoped Liszt would return from the spa invigorated and that he would see him in Leipzig soon.²⁴

Yet, there was one person whom Liszt had not yet told of his plans: the Grand Duke Carl Alexander. Two days after writing to Schumann, Liszt also wrote to the Grand Duke of his intention to visit Wilhelmsthal shortly (where the Grand Duke often spent the summer months) in order to inform him in some detail of the ‘status of projects and programmes relating to the celebrations of 28 August.’ He refers to a preparatory meeting that Mr Preller had just asked him to attend in which they were to ‘determine the main issues concerning the organization of the festival music.’²⁵

Having met with Mr Preller, Liszt must then have travelled to Wilhelmsthal and informed the Grand Duke that he would not be present at the festival. Then, only days after writing to Schumann cancelling the performance of *Faust* he quickly wrote again on 1 August saying that he had been summoned to be present at the Goethe festival and so he would be conducting the musical part after all. He apologized for contradicting himself and asked Schumann to send the score as soon as possible, and also the parts if he could spare them. If he could not, Liszt would arrange for the parts to be written out.²⁶ He also wrote to the same effect to Joachim Raff on 1 August 1849: ‘Due to a request that cannot be refused to attend the Goethe Centenary Celebration, and to take care of a few musical productions, I am forced to put my spa trip back to the beginning of September.’²⁷

²⁴ La Mara (ed.), *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1895), 121-22 (Letter 88 from Schumann).

²⁵ La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander, Grossherzog von Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1909), 27-28 (Letter 15, 29 July 1849). ‘Monseigneur, Je suis profondément touché et reconnaissant de la réponse que V. A. R. a daigné faire à ma lettre. Sous peu de jours, j’espère avoir l’honneur de vous faire ma visite à Willhelmsthal pour vous exprimer mes remerciements, et à cette occasion, informer aussi V. A. R. avec quelque détail, de l’état des projets et des programmes relatifs à la célébration du 28 Août. M. Preller vient de me demander d’assister à une réunion préparatoire dans laquelle nous parviendrons, je pense, sans trop d’encontres, à fixer les points principaux concernant l’organisation musicale de la fête.’

²⁶ La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 1, 80-81 (Letter 62 to Schumann, 1 August 1849).

²⁷ Helen Raff, ‘Franz Liszt und Joachim Raff im Spiegel ihrer Briefe’, *Die Musik*, I.4 (1901), 287. My translation of: ‘Durch ein unabweisbares Verlangen der hundertjährigen Goethe-Feyer am 28. August hier

Apparently, the Grand Duke had reminded Liszt of his duties during their meeting at Wilhelmsthal. It was, of course, Liszt's responsibility to conduct court concerts, particularly for special occasions, and the Grand Duke would naturally have wanted Liszt to be present at what would be a festival of national significance. All of this suggests that, at this early stage in his Weimar career, spoken theatre did not fit in with Liszt's compositional plans, though this would change in the coming years. It also suggests that Liszt did not take his responsibilities as Kapellmeister seriously at this stage.

Eventually Liszt took a major role in the festival, conducting his own works on each of the three days. His activities are detailed in the festival programme that is now preserved at the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Weimar (see figure 1). His correspondence with Schumann suggests that this programme was not available until mid-August.²⁸ Evidently, this was because Liszt's involvement was only firmly agreed upon (even demanded) at the beginning of August.

Figure 1: Programme of the 1848 Goethe Celebration in Weimar

Programm²⁹ der Goethe-Feier in Weimar Montag den 27. August

Nachmittags 5 Uhr. Große Festloge der Loge Amalia, mit den Frauen.

Abends 8 Uhr. Festliche Erleuchtung des Goethe'schen Gartenhaus und des römischen Hauses. Musik und Chorgesänge daselbst; nämlich: [Illumination of Goethe's garden house and the Roman House. Music and choral singing]

1. 'Mächt'ge Geisterflügel rauschen' von Apel.
2. Wandrers Nachtlid von Reissiger
3. 'Licht, mehr Licht' von Liszt³⁰

beizuwohnen, und dafür einige musikalische Ausstattungen zu besorgen, bin ich gezwungen, meine Bade-Reise bis zu Anfang September hinauszusetzen.'

²⁸ Seibold, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt*, 216-217.

²⁹ Unknown author, 'Die Säkularfeier der Geburt Goethes am 28 August 1849', *Hofbehörden*, 2657, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

³⁰ The premiere of this work is recorded in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* as having taken place in Weimar with Liszt conducting on 25 August 1849. (See Rena Mueller and Maria Eckhardt, 'Liszt':

Dienstag den 28. August

Früh 7 Uhr. Chorgesänge vor der Gruft: [Choralsinging in front of the tomb³¹]

1. Choral
2. Am Grabe Goethe's. Hymne, gedichtet von Kolich, von Stör.
3. 'Der du von dem Himmel bist' von Hiller

Anmerkung. Diejenigen, welche sich an dieser Feier betheiligen wollen, werden gebeten, sich 6 ½ Uhr vor dem Rathhause einzufinden, um sich von da in feierlichem Zuge nach der Gruft zu begeben. [Note. Those who want to take part in this ceremony are requested to arrive at 6.30 am in front of the Town Hall in order to walk from there in a solemn procession to the tomb.]

11 Uhr. Festhandlung in der Großherzoglichen Bibliothek: Einweihung des neuen Anbaues. Cantate in zwei Theilen, componirt und dirigirt vom Hofkapellmeister Chelard (ausgeführt von der Großherzoglichen Hofkapelle und dem Theaterchor, die Solo von Hrn. Schneider). Rede des Hofrath Preller.

Anmerkung. Der Text der Cantate wird bei dem Eingang zur Feier ausgetheilt.

[Festival event in the Ducal Library: Inauguration of the new wing. Cantata in two parts, composed and conducted by Court Kapellmeister Chelard (performed by the Court orchestra and theatre chorus, solo by Hrn Schneider). Speech by Privy Counsellor Preller.

Note. The text of the Cantata will be given out at the entrance to the celebration.]

2 Uhr. Festessen in dem Garten der Erholung und im Armbrustschießhaus. – Beide Gesellschaften laden Fremde, so wie Einheimische, die nicht Mitglieder sind, freundlichst zur Theilnahme ein.

[Banquet in the garden of the Recreation Society and in the Archery Society house – both societies cordially invite both newcomers and locals who are not society members to take part.]

Abends 6 Uhr. Im Theater: Prolog von A. Böttiger. Torquato Tasso von Goethe. Ouverture componirt vom Hofkapellmeister Fr. Liszt, symphonische Entr'actes dirigirt von Liszt. (Tasso: Herr Dessoir von Karlsruhe.)

9 Uhr. Erleuchtung der Stadt, nach dem Beschlusse des Stadtrathes.

[Illumination of the city, following the decision of the City Council.]

Mittwoch den 29. August

Früh 10 Uhr. Im Großherzoglichen Parke zu Tiefurt: Aufführung des **Jahrmarkts von Plundersweilern** durch Dilettanten.³²

Works in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* xiv, 850. The source for this is not recorded and there is no existing playbill for the performance. It seems likely that this is a mistake and the premiere actually took place on 27 August 1849.

³¹ Goethe, Schiller, and Karl August occupy the same tomb in Weimar.

³² The music to this was probably provided by Conradi. An incidental set for the play appears among his published repertoire, and he was heavily involved in the Goethe Festival in other ways (see the section of this chapter on entr'actes).

[Performance of Goethe's *Jahrmarkts von Plundersweilern* in the Ducal park at Tiefurt by dilettantes.

Am Nachmittag kleine festliche Veranstaltungen auf dem Platze des Vogelschießens vor dem Schießhause.

[Small festive event]

Abends 6 Uhr. Concert im Theater, unter der Leitung des Hofkapellmeister Liszt.

[Concert in the theatre conducted by Court Kapellmeister Liszt.]

1. Overture: Meerestille und glückliche Fahrt ... von Mendelssohn.
 2. Gretchen am Spinnrad (vorgetragen von Fräulein Agthe) .. von Fr. Schubert
 3. Weimar's Todte, Dithyrambe von Franz von Schober ... von Liszt
-
4. Chor der Engel aus Faust, zweiter Theil von Liszt
 5. Faust's Verklärung, Schlußscene des Faust, zweiter Theil ... von Rob. Schumann.
(4. und 5. Vorgetragen vom Montag'schen Singverein.)
 6. Große Symphonie (neunte) mit Solo-Quartett und Chor, von Beethoven.

Anmerkung. Textbücher sind für 3 Silbergroschen bei dem theaterkassirer Sernau und am Tage des Concerts an der Kasse zu haben.

[Note. Books of the texts can be bought for 3 silver groats from Theatre Cashier Sernau and on the day of the concert at the box office.]

Abends 9 Uhr. Festzug aus Goethe's Werken, auf dem Platze vor dem Schießhause, geordnet und ausgeführt von den Künstlern Weimar's. –Erleuchtung der Schießloge der Büchschützen.

In Goethe's Hause sind sein Arbeits- und Schlafzimmer am 28., 29. und 30 August, im Großherzoglichen Schlosse die Dichter-Zimmer an eben diesen Tagen, in einem Zimmer der Großherzoglichen Bibliothek am 28. 29. eine Goethe-Ausstellung, ferner die Kunstsammlung an eben diesen Tagen Fremden und Einheimischen zur Ansicht geöffnet.

[Festival procession from Goethe's works on the square in front of the Schießhaus organized and performed by Weimar's artists. Illumination of the Schießloge of the riflemen.

On 28th, 29th and 30th August Goethe's study and bedroom and the poet's rooms in the Ducal Palace will be open. On the 28th and 29th a Goethe exhibition as well as the art collections will be open for locals and strangers to view.]

III: The Music for the 1849 'Torquato Tasso' Production

We have seen that Liszt tried to extricate himself from the Goethe Festival entirely, delaying the planning of the programme. The investigation below demonstrates that, having agreed to participate, Liszt continued to show reluctance (particularly in deviating from his own compositional plans). He did not commit himself to adapting his existing music to fit a

new programme and made little attempt to find entr'actes that would complement the atmosphere of the play.

Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* offered quite a different narrative from *Childe Harold*, or even the *Lament of Tasso*. It focuses on the psychological breakdown of the central character. This gradually takes place as a result of Tasso's paranoid and suspicious personality. Tasso's paranoia is made clear to the audience by frequent soliloquies, which grow more disturbed in each act. Overall the play covers a few crucial hours in Tasso's life. It is a subtle work with little action, focussing on the motivations of a small group of characters and their relationships, providing an effective picture of courtly intrigue. There is a general sense of foreboding that grows ever greater throughout. Briefly, in Act One Tasso completes *Jerusalem Delivered* and is presented with a laurel wreath by Duke Alphonso. Antonio, Secretary of State, returns home from Rome and takes a dislike to Tasso. The animosity between these two characters will eventually lead to Tasso's downfall. At the end of the act Tasso declares his love for the Princess (Duke Alphonso's sister). She hints that it is returned, though this is never fully expressed. This, too, will play a part in Tasso's disgrace.

Goethe's second act contains some of the only action of the play. Tasso attempts a reconciliation with Antonio, but is again offended by Antonio's behaviour towards him. In the end Tasso draws his sword. Duke Alphonso sees this and decides that Tasso should be imprisoned for his crime. He is banished to his rooms and a page confiscates his sword and garland crown. The third act begins with the Princess alone and upset following what has happened. She tells her friend Countess Leonora of this who suggests that it might be best for Tasso to leave Ferrara for a while and she will then meet him during his travels and persuade him to return to court. It transpires that the Countess's suggestion was motivated by wanting Tasso for herself.

Act four begins with Tasso alone in his chamber reflecting on the joys and sorrows of the day. Leonora suggests to Tasso that he should leave Ferrara for Florence and that she should go with him. Tasso, alone again, then grows increasingly suspicious and paranoid. He ends up declaring that he does not trust Leonora, that he will go away, but further than she suggests—he will go to Rome. He also worries that the Princess does not love him after all. Antonio then goes to see Tasso and asks for forgiveness. Tasso tells him that he intends to leave Ferrara. The act ends with an increasingly paranoid Tasso convinced that everyone is conspiring against him, particularly Antonio and even the Princess.

The final act begins with Antonio and Alphonso discussing Tasso's proposed trip to Rome. Alphonso decides to let Tasso go and informs him of his decision, but Tasso's frame of mind begins to worsen once more, culminating in the only other piece of action in the play. The Princess speaks to Tasso and although she is cautious and guarded he feels encouraged enough to fall into her arms. She is shocked and pushes him away. Alphonso sees this and thinks that Tasso has lost his mind. The play closes with Tasso, a captive again, appearing increasingly disturbed. He thinks that the Duke has stolen his poem and that they have all plotted together so that he will remain captive forever. He clings to Antonio begging for help, but the ending is left deliberately ambiguous; Tasso's fate is not made clear.

Lamento e Trionfo was advertised as an 'Overture to Goethe's *Tasso*' in the musical press.³³ We might expect, therefore, to find that it depicts the narrative of the play in the manner of a 'summarising' overture, or at least prepares the general mood. And it might also be expected that the new programme must have caused Liszt to rework substantially his material from the piano piece inspired by *Childe Harold*, but this was not the case. The overture was based on Liszt's sketch in N5, which in turn has much in common with *Venezia e Napoli*. In fact, Dieter Torkewitz in his essay on Liszt's *Tasso* consistently refers to all of

³³ For example, see *Signale für die musikalische Welt* No. 34 July 1849, 270, the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* 1 August 1849, 246 and *Die neue Zeitschrift für Musik* No. 12 8 August 1849.

the drafts of the symphonic poems as ‘orchestral versions’ of the piano piece.³⁴ Torkewitz rightly notes that the same tonal structure occurs in the early versions of the symphonic poem as in the piano piece: C minor—E major—C major, but he fails to mention other important similarities, some of which are not preserved in the published symphonic poem but are present in the overture.

The first significant similarity occurs in the *Adagio mesto* section where we hear the *Tasso* melody for the first time (b. 62 of the published score). Rhythmically the melody is closer to the ‘Gondolier’s melody’ than to that in the published score. Even the scoring choices and accompaniment are based heavily on Liszt’s piano writing. Indeed, it is very much a directly orchestrated piano piece. The arpeggiated figures that accompany the main theme in the right hand are now given to pizzicato strings, whilst the melody in an inner tenor voice has been transferred to French Horn. Finally the staccato quavers of the bass voice now appear in the lower strings. The accompaniment gradually became more sophisticated through several revisions.³⁵ We will also see that Liszt gradually incorporated a transition in between the first and second subjects (from bar 109 in the published score), but in the overture the change of gear was quite abrupt. Similarly, there is very little transition in Conradi’s copy (B22) or in the piano piece. The first subject group was, therefore, a little shorter and less complex in the version performed with Goethe’s play. Equally, the contrasting melody that follows in E major in the *Meno Adagio* remained predominantly the same from the piano piece to the overture, and even to the published score. The influence of the piano piece can still be seen, not only in the melody, but also in the scoring: a chordal texture over scalar runs.

³⁴ For example, see Torkewitz, ‘Liszt’s *Tasso*’, 333.

³⁵ See Peter Raabe, ‘Die Entstehungsgeschichte der ersten Orchesterwerke Franz Liszts’, Ph.D. diss. (University of Jena, 1916), 32–42 for details.

All of this shows that in essence, Liszt orchestrated his piano piece. The new programmatic associations did not inspire a substantial rewrite. Liszt does not appear to have referred to Goethe's play in any significant way.

Transcription 1: Hs 107016, Adagio (equivalent of bb. 62-130 published score)

Adagio

The musical score is for an Adagio movement, Hs 107016, which is an orchestration of a piano piece. The score is written for seven instruments: Bassoon, Horn in C, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 4/4. The tempo is marked 'Adagio'. The Bassoon part begins with a *p espress.* marking. The string parts (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass) are marked *pizz.* (pizzicato). The score shows the first three measures of the piece, with the instruments playing in a coordinated manner to create a rich, textured sound.

Bsn.

C Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

The musical score is written for six instruments: Bsn., C Hn., Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The key signature is two flats (Bb and Eb), and the time signature is 3/4. The Bsn. part starts with a long note, followed by a rest, and then a long note. The C Hn. part starts with a long note, followed by a rest, and then a long note. The Vln. I, Vln. II, and Vla. parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The Vc. and Cb. parts play a simple eighth-note pattern.

Bsn.
 C Hn.
 Bb Hn.
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.
 Cb.

This musical score page contains measures 135, 136, and 137. The instruments are arranged in a standard orchestral layout. The woodwinds (Bsn., C Hn., Bb Hn.) and strings (Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., Cb.) are shown. The key signature has three flats (Bb, Eb, Ab) and the time signature is 3/4. The score shows a variety of musical textures, including sustained chords in the woodwinds and moving lines in the strings.

Bsn.
 C Hn.
 Timp.
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.
 Cb.

tr
pp
tr
 con sord.
 divisi

This musical score page contains measures 137, 138, and 139 for a symphony orchestra. The instruments are arranged in two systems. The top system includes Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet in B-flat (Cl. in Bb), and Bassoon (Bsn.). The bottom system includes Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. In measure 137, the Flute and Clarinet in B-flat play a half note chord, while the Bassoon plays a half note. The Violin I part has a half note chord with a fermata. The Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass parts play eighth notes. In measure 138, the Flute and Clarinet in B-flat are silent, while the Bassoon plays a half note. The Violin I part has a half note chord with a fermata. The Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass parts play eighth notes. In measure 139, the Flute and Clarinet in B-flat play a half note chord, while the Bassoon plays a half note. The Violin I part has a half note chord with a fermata. The Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass parts play eighth notes.

Fl.

Ob.

Cl. in Bb

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Fl.
 Cl. in B \flat
 Bsn.
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.
 Cb.

The score consists of seven staves. The woodwind section (Flute, Clarinet in B \flat , Bassoon) has a whole rest in measure 140 and a half note in measure 142. The string section (Violins I and II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass) plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in measure 140, rests in measure 141, and a half note in measure 142. The key signature has three flats (B \flat , E \flat , A \flat), and the time signature is 3/4.

Fl.

Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

B \flat Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Measures 140-142. The score is in three systems. The key signature is three flats (B \flat , E \flat , A \flat). The time signature changes from 4/4 to 5/4 in measure 141. The Flute part has a whole note chord in measure 140, a half note in 141, and a whole note in 142. The Clarinet in B \flat and Bassoon parts have a half note in measure 140, a half note in 141, and a whole note in 142. The B \flat Horn part has a whole note in measure 140, a half note in 141, and a whole note in 142. The Violin I part has a whole note in measure 140, a half note in 141, and a whole note in 142. The Violin II part has a half note in measure 140, a half note in 141, and a whole note in 142. The Viola part has a half note in measure 140, a half note in 141, and a whole note in 142. The Violoncello and Contrabass parts have a half note in measure 140, a half note in 141, and a whole note in 142.

Fl.

Cl. in B♭

C Hn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Cb.

This system contains measures 1 through 3 of a musical score. The key signature has three flats (B♭, E♭, A♭) and the time signature is common time (C). The Flute (Fl.) part has a long note in measure 1, followed by rests in measures 2 and 3. The Clarinet in B♭ (Cl. in B♭) has a quarter note in measure 1, a quarter rest in measure 2, and a quarter note in measure 3. The Cor Anglais (C Hn.) has a half note in measure 1, a half note in measure 2, and a quarter rest in measure 3. The Violin I (Vln. I) part has a half note in measure 1, followed by a sixteenth-note pattern in measure 2, and a half note in measure 3. The Violin II (Vln. II) part has a quarter rest in measure 1, followed by a sixteenth-note pattern in measure 2, and a quarter note in measure 3. The Viola (Vla.) part has a quarter rest in measure 1, followed by a sixteenth-note pattern in measure 2, and a quarter note in measure 3. The Cello (Cb.) part has a quarter rest in measure 1, followed by a quarter note in measure 2, and a quarter rest in measure 3.



Fl.

Cl. in B♭

Bsn.

C Hn.

This system contains measures 4 through 6 of a musical score. The key signature has three flats (B♭, E♭, A♭) and the time signature is common time (C). The Flute (Fl.) part has a quarter rest in measure 4, followed by a quarter note in measure 5, and a quarter rest in measure 6. The Clarinet in B♭ (Cl. in B♭) has a quarter rest in measure 4, followed by a quarter note in measure 5, and a quarter rest in measure 6. The Bassoon (Bsn.) part has a quarter rest in measure 4, followed by a quarter note in measure 5, and a quarter rest in measure 6. The Cor Anglais (C Hn.) part has a half note in measure 4, followed by a half note in measure 5, and a quarter rest in measure 6.

Fl.

Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

C Hn.



Fl.

Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

C Hn.

Vc.

Fl.

Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

arco

arco

pizz.



Fl.

Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Fl.

Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

This system contains measures 1 and 2 of the score. The woodwinds (Flute, Clarinet in B-flat, Bassoon) and strings (Violins I and II, Viola, Cello) are all playing. The Flute, Violin I, and Viola parts have a melodic line with a slur over measures 1 and 2. The Clarinet in B-flat has a sustained chord. The Bassoon, Violin II, and Cello parts have a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola part has a complex rhythmic pattern with many beamed eighth notes.



Fl.

Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

This system contains measures 3 and 4 of the score. The woodwinds (Flute, Clarinet in B-flat, Bassoon) and strings (Violins I and II, Viola, Cello) are all playing. The Flute, Violin I, and Viola parts have a melodic line with a slur over measures 3 and 4. The Clarinet in B-flat has a sustained chord. The Bassoon, Violin II, and Cello parts have a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola part has a complex rhythmic pattern with many beamed eighth notes.

The image displays a musical score for the Overture to Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*. The score is arranged in two systems of staves. The first system includes the Flute (Fl.), Clarinet in Bb (Cl. in Bb), and Bassoon (Bsn.). The second system includes Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Cello (Vc.). The music is written in 3/4 time and the key of Bb major. The score consists of 16 measures. The Flute, Violin I, and Viola parts feature a melodic line with a triplet in measure 10. The Clarinet, Bassoon, Violin II, and Cello parts provide harmonic support with various rhythmic patterns.

Although Liszt approached the task to provide an overture to Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* with reluctance, and did not alter his original material to account for the new programme, we will see that he did alter the form to fit in with the overture genre. In doing so he also referred to a suitable dramatic model: Beethoven's Overture to *Egmont*. Stylistically, *Tasso* is heavily indebted to Beethoven. This is most clear in some of the transitional sections and the coda. Transcription 5 below, for example, of a transition from the A2b score shows a characteristic repeated downward quaver string figuration that was cut from later versions but strongly recalls Beethoven. The overture version also utilised a similar orchestra to Beethoven's. At this point there was no harp³⁶ or bass clarinet, and there was also very little

³⁶ The harp part was only inserted at a very late stage. It appears for the first time in Raff's second copy (GSA 60/A2a), which probably dates from the Spring of 1854. Significantly, it was around this time that the virtuoso harp player, Jeanne Pohl, moved to Weimar to play in the court orchestra.

percussion, aside from the occasional section for timpani. Equally, we have already seen that Weimar's orchestra only had a small string section.

The influence of Beethoven's Overture to *Egmont* can even be traced in *Tasso* in its published version. The tonal trajectory of F minor to F major is mirrored in *Tasso*'s C minor—C major, though Beethoven chooses the relative major—A flat, instead of the raised mediant—E major, that Liszt chooses for the contrasting key area. The minor-major trajectory of both works symbolises a victory of a higher sense: one that does not appear in the action of the plays these overtures introduced. In Goethe's tragedy Egmont's defeat and death are presented on stage. Yet, Beethoven's F major coda, which is also repeated at the end of the play as a 'Victory Symphony', adds an apotheosis that suggests that his death has not been in vain.

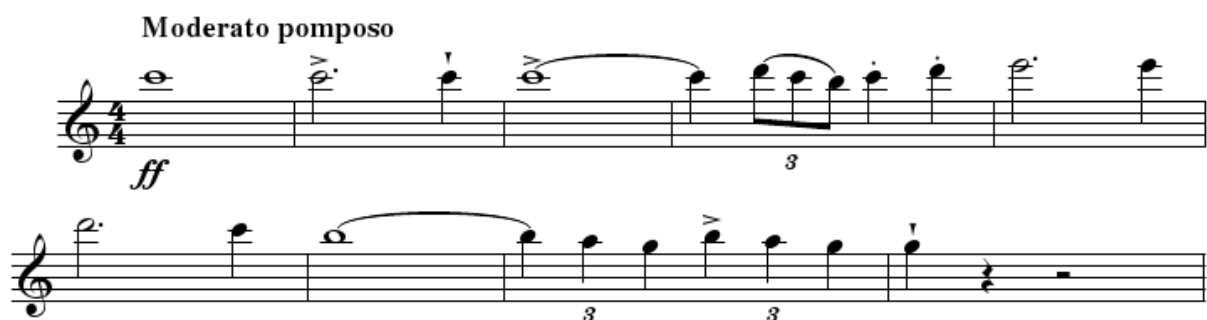
Interestingly, it is the 'Victory Symphony' that Liszt particularly praised in his essay on the work: 'Über Beethoven's Musik zu Egmont'. He believed that the overture heralded a new direction for art, which would be continued by Wagner: the fusing of music and drama.³⁷ Liszt's admiration for Beethoven's coda relates to his opinion that generally Beethoven's music to *Egmont* focuses too closely on the love story between Egmont and Klärchen and neglects the broader historical aspects of the story. Liszt felt that the coda was the one part of the music that truly referred to more general themes of freedom and German national independence.³⁸ In this way, Liszt suggests that programme music should reflect on broad themes, rather than depict the particular.

³⁷ See Liszt, 'Über Beethoven's Musik zu Egmont', in *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5: *Dramaturgische Blätter* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), 20. Liszt writes: 'Beethoven begann, indem er diese Fragmente [the Victory Symphony] componirte, der Kunst einen neuen Weg zu bezeichnen, indem er mit mächtiger Hand den ersten Baum eines unbetretenen Waldes fällte, das erste Hinderniß wegräumte, zuerst Hand an's Werk legte. Die Welt sah ohne sonderliche Aufmerksamkeit diesem ersten Schlage zu; aber die Zeiten waren gekommen, wo die Kunst diesen Weg wandeln sollte, und bald nach ihm fand sie die Bahnen hell gelichtet und geebnet.'

³⁸ Liszt, 'Über Beethoven's Musik zu Egmont', 19.

Similarly, with his music to Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*, Liszt attempted a broader view of the work that did not try to depict particular moments of the narrative, but was concerned with a wider theme of the play that would always remain relevant, especially for Liszt: Tasso's immortality in art and recognition after death. Liszt even writes in the preface to the symphonic poem that it was his open intention to depict these themes, particularly in the 'Trionfo' section.³⁹ Yet, this joyful section seems too playful and festive for the task (and, indeed, seems more closely related to *Childe Harold*, as we have already seen). Instead, in a similar manner to the Overture to *Egmont*, it is the victorious, Beethovenian coda that more ably represents Tasso's redemption, even though such a conclusion does not feature in Goethe's play. The coda, including the majestic rhythmically augmented C major restatement of the main theme, was an addition made with the 'Forsetzung': an important change reflecting the transformation from Byronic piano piece into Beethovenian overture to Goethe's play. Here the Tasso theme is magnificently presented, seemingly depicting the poet triumphant in death.

Ex. 6: Liszt, *Tasso*, bb. 534-542



The coda as a whole draws on many of devices used in the 'Victory Symphony': repeated string figuration, arpeggios and scalar figures, dominant pedals, brass fanfares and repeated tonic chords. And the syncopated stretto also seems to owe something to

³⁹ Liszt, 'Preface to *Tasso*', X.

Beethoven's style (it was later rewritten, removing the syncopations—perhaps it seemed too derivative).

Transcription 2: Hs 107016, Syncopated Stretto (equivalent from bar 501 published score)

Piccolo

Flutes

Oboes

Clarinet in C

Bassoons

Horn in C

Horn in G

Trumpet in C

Tenor Trombone

Bass Trombone

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

divisi.

This musical score page, numbered 151, contains staves for the following instruments: Piccolo (Picc.), Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Cor Anglais (C Hn.), Horn (G Hn.), Trumpet (C Tpt.), Trombone (Tbn.), Baritone Trombone (B. Tbn.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The score is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The woodwind section (Picc., Fl., Ob., Cl., Bsn.) features a melodic line with various articulations and a dynamic marking of $\textcircled{8}$ above the Flute staff. The brass section (C Hn., G Hn., C Tpt., Tbn., B. Tbn.) provides harmonic support with sustained notes and some movement. The string section (Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., Cb.) plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, with the Violins and Viola having a melodic line. The overall texture is dense and orchestral.

Picc.
 Fl. (8)
 Ob.
 Cl.
 Bsn.
 C Hn.
 G Hn.
 C Tpt.
 Tbn.
 B. Tbn.
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.
 Cb.

Uninspired Entr'actes

Beethoven may have influenced the coda of Liszt's *Lamento e Trionfo*, but it seems that he did not influence the choice of entr'actes. Beethoven, of course, composed two Lieder, entr'actes, melodrama and a 'Victory Symphony' for *Egmont*. There are four entr'actes, which take the audience from the mood at the end of one act to that at the beginning of the next. The incidental music of the final act also depicts specific events taking place on stage. This is music composed directly for the play and intended to mirror the mood of the events it accompanies.

Yet Liszt criticised Beethoven's music to *Egmont*, echoing Wagner's belief that the proportion of music to drama was unequal and that it was a mistake 'to pack the whole musical interest together in the entr'actes, to which the public, distracted by anti-musical interests, only lend inattentive ears.'⁴⁰ This, coupled with the fact that entr'actes were a topic of contention between Liszt and the theatre management almost from the moment he took up the Kapellmeister post full-time, suggests that Liszt would have been reluctant to compose new entr'actes. And this is borne out by the entr'actes that he eventually conducted. They reveal that maintaining and supporting the general atmosphere of Goethe's play must have been a low priority. His lack of care in this regard also contributes to the general impression of Liszt at this time as reluctant to provide and conduct music for spoken drama, though this would change over the coming years.⁴¹

Nonetheless, the playbill for the *Torquato Tasso* production shows that not only did Liszt conduct entr'actes during the *Torquato Tasso* performance, but one was actually his

⁴⁰ Liszt, 'Über Beethoven's Musik zu Egmont', 18. 'Bald ward es ihm [Wagner] klar, wie ungenügend der Antheil ist, welchen Beethoven der Musik am Drama giebt, und wie sehr es den Zweck verfehlt, das ganze musikalische Interesse in Zwischenacte zusammen zu drängen, welchen das Publikum, durch antimusikalische Interessen abgespannt, nur ein unaufmerksames, zerstreutes Ohr leiht.'

⁴¹ We have seen in chapter one that in the mid-1850s Liszt did attempt to match the programmatic content of his entr'actes to the dramatic productions with which they were performed. Yet, on the whole Liszt disapproved of the practice of performing entr'actes, and this continued to be a source of contention with the Weimar artistic management, as we will see in chapter four.

own *Festmarsch*. The others used music by Beethoven and Conradi. Unfortunately, the playbill does not mention any additional incidental music that may have been used. The *Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt* in Weimar holds the majority of the music belonging to the Weimar Court Theatre, but they do not have any incidental music for Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* in their collection. The music may, therefore, have been lost, or perhaps there simply was none during the performance. Unlike other Goethe plays, including *Egmont*, the text does not include directions that refer to diegetic music.

Figure 2: the Playbill from the 1848 *Torquato Tasso* Production

Anfang dieser Vorstellung um 6 Uhr.

Hof - Theater.
Weimar, Dienstag den 28. August 1848.

Zu

Goethe's
hundertjähriger Geburtsfeier.
Prolog,
gedichtet von Herrn Adolph Müllner, gesprochen von Durand.

Verkauf
Torquato Tasso.
Schauspiel in fünf Akten, von Goethe.
Dargestellt kommandirt von Herrn Hof-Kapellmeister Hr. Nitz, musikalischer
Entwurfen dirigirt von denselben.

Albanus bei Ravenna, Herzog von Ferrara, Hr. Winterberger;
Emilia von Este, seine Schwester, Hr. Zier.
Leonore Cardinale, Waise von Ferrara, Fr. Gnaß.
Torquato Tasso, Hr. Gnaß.
Antonia Montecitorio, Brautheute, Hr. Gnaß.

Der Schiedsman ist auf dem Rathschloß Weimar.
„ „ „ Torquato Tasso — Hr. Tasso vom Hofkammer in
Karlsruhe — als Gast.

Symphonische Entr'actes.

1) Scherzo	Corrad.
2) Marsch aus den Rhapsodien von Atilia	Beckmann.
3) Andante, fünfte Symphonie,	Corrad.
4) Fest-Marsch	Gnaß.

Preise der Plätze:

Balken	— 21 Sgr.	Parterre	— 11 Sgr.
Parterre-Orchestra	— 21 Sgr.	Balken-Loge	— 8 Sgr.
Parterre-Box	— 16 Sgr.	Balken	— 5 Sgr.
Box	— 16 Sgr.		

Anfang um 6 Uhr. Ende nach 9 Uhr.

Zur Pflicht gelte nur am Tage der Vorstellung, wo sie nicht weichen.
Zur Pflicht auf der Bühne, bei den ersten vier bis der Aufführung,
ist nicht gelistet.

Das Theater wird um 5 Uhr geöffnet.
Die freien Entreeen sind ungültig.

The overture to the play (with its use of melodies from the gondolier song) could be interpreted as partially related to the subject matter, but, when it came to the entr'actes, Liszt programmed light, often martial music, which, if anything, would have entirely disrupted the atmosphere. The playbill refers to two entr'actes by Conradi—a Scherzo (which followed Act One) and an Andante from the 5th symphony (following Act Three). It is possible that the Scherzo also came from this symphony, but the playbill is not specific. Conradi was mainly known in his lifetime as a composer of stage music—he wrote several operas, posses and also some ballet music, and worked as Music Director and Kapellmeister at several different theatres in Germany. Yet he devoted the early part of his career to composing 'serious' instrumental music, of which the five symphonies were his main contribution.

August Conradi is a largely neglected figure in musical scholarship, and is generally only mentioned as Liszt's amanuensis. A very few scholars have devoted their attentions to him, and unfortunately have not been successful in locating the five symphonies.⁴² The majority of Conradi's musical estate can be found at the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin. Yet, although the collection contains a large amount of stage music, piano pieces (including several opera transcriptions), and Lieder, there is only a piano reduction of the fourth symphony among the collection. This was published by Bote & Bock in 1876 (three years after Conradi's death). None of the other symphonies were published either for full orchestra or in a piano reduction. Bote & Bock probably chose to publish the fourth as a piano reduction, because, of all of Conradi's symphonies, this was the one that was the most performed during his lifetime.⁴³ At the time of the Goethe festival it was well-known and generally well-received.

⁴² For example, see G. R. Kruse, *August Conradi. Ein Gedenkbl.*, in *Die Musik* 12 (1912/13), 3-13.

⁴³ Numerous references to performances, and also some fairly substantial reviews, can be found in music periodicals dating mostly from 1846-9, but also into the mid-1850s, whereas references to performances of the other Conradi symphonies are scarcely to be found.

All of this may seem largely unrelated to Liszt and the *Torquato Tasso* production, except that it is possible that the Scherzo (and perhaps also the Andante if there was a mistake on the playbill) attributed to Conradi may in fact have been from the fourth symphony, rather than the fifth. Firstly, references to performances of the fifth symphony are scarce (if they exist at all) in music periodicals from the 1840s and 50s, whilst there are many references to performances of the fourth in venues in several Austrian and German cities in the year of the Goethe Festival. The score and parts, therefore, would already have been written out on clean performing copies. Indeed, there were probably a few sets in circulation, as there had been several performances. It is less likely that this would have been the case regarding the fifth symphony, therefore Liszt would have had to have gone to the trouble of getting the parts copied, which would have taken time and money. Time in particular was very short, given the late stage at which preparations commenced. Furthermore, in his correspondence with Schumann regarding the *Scenes from Faust* Liszt complained that it was difficult to find copyists at this time because so many new works were being performed that needed to be copied out.⁴⁴ The fact that it is also unlikely that Liszt would go to such efforts for entr'actes make it seem highly probable that Liszt would have programmed pieces for which parts already existed.

The fourth symphony may be difficult to find, but fortunately some detailed reviews are available. One appears in an edition of the *Berliner Musikalische Zeitung* from March 1847. The review points out a main theme that occurs throughout each of the four movements of the symphony (so much so that the reviewer finds it monotonous). The description suggests that Conradi had appropriated Berlioz's idea of the 'Idée fixe'. The critic believed the symphony to be characterised by a mood of bitter lamentation. The only exception was the scherzo (which may well be the first entr'acte). Indeed, we might wonder at the

⁴⁴ Seibold, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt: im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenz und Schriften*, 217.

appropriateness of the use of a scherzo after the first act of the play. Goethe has, so far, set up tensions between Tasso and Antonio and has hinted at Tasso's troubled mental state. An effective entr'acte may have augmented this sense of foreboding. A bright and playful scherzo would hardly have done this. The reviewer tells us that 'In the third movement the composer steps outside of himself and becomes humorous.'⁴⁵ It seems likely that Liszt chose the Scherzo to create a light mood, which he believed was a key function of entr'actes. The other Conradi movement followed the third act. As mentioned, it is possible that this 'Andante' was actually the second movement from Conradi's 4th symphony. The same reviewer from the *Berliner Musikalische Zeitung* tells us that 'the second movement is poetically much richer [than the first], but too prolonged and occasionally too sentimental. In particular a shortening of the first cello solo would be beneficial.'⁴⁶

We have seen that the second act contained one of the only points of action in the play. It ends with Tasso being imprisoned. Yet Liszt decided to conduct Beethoven's March from the *Ruins of Athens* at this point. Whilst in its original performance context this Turkish March referred to the Turkish occupation of Athens—the subject of August von Kotzebue's play for which Beethoven's incidental music was written, it serves no such programmatic function in *Torquato Tasso*. It is light-hearted, tuneful, upbeat and of suitably concise length. It would not have taken much rehearsal for the orchestra to master this simple piece. Perhaps crucially, it also has a martial character, which Liszt also believed was an appropriate style for entr'actes.⁴⁷

The playbill tells us that the fourth act was followed by Liszt's *Festmarsch*. This would have created another jarring contrast against the action of the play. Tasso's brooding

⁴⁵ *Berliner Musikalische Zeitung* No. 13, 27 March 1847 'Im dritten tritt der Componist etwas aus sich heraus und wird humoristisch.'

⁴⁶ Ibid., 'der zweite Hauptsatz ist poetisch viel reicher, aber zu weit ausgedehnt und mitunter zu sentimental. Namentlich wäre eine Kürzung des ersten Cello-Solo von Vortheil.'

⁴⁷ Liszt, 'Zwischenaktsmusik', 392.

would have been immediately followed by a fanfare figure in the orchestra building up to a proud martial theme. This rather confident and rousing march hardly depicted the topics of Goethe's play or any of the issues that Liszt himself associated with the character of Tasso. But it did, of course, fit Liszt's idea that martial music provided appropriate entr'actes. Furthermore, although the Goethe March may not have been composed with reference to *Torquato Tasso*, it was composed as a tribute to Goethe. And we have seen in Chapter One that Liszt was consistent in programming it at events in celebration of Goethe, often alongside a production of one of Goethe's plays. This connection may also, therefore, have made it an appropriate entr'acte to Liszt's mind.

The Evolution of the Programme Post-production

In 1849 Liszt had no prior experience of producing spoken drama or of composing music for it. The Goethe Festival, therefore, forced him to consider relationships between music and spoken drama. He began reluctantly, only adding a Beethovenian coda to an orchestral work conceived with reference to poetry (though the final section of this chapter will show that he also made some important formal concessions). And he showed little inclination to find or compose new entr'actes relating to the drama (though this may have been because he felt entr'actes were an unworthy means of supporting drama, not because he was not interested in music with a dramatic function).

Yet, following the *Torquato Tasso* production Liszt did become more involved in music for spoken drama. We have seen in Chapter One that he seriously considered composing incidental music for *The Tempest* and *Oresteia*, that he did compose an overture and incidental music for Herder's *Der entfesselte Prometheus*, and that he later composed incidental music for Halm's *Vor hundert Jahren*. This new interest in spoken drama and the latent influence of the *Torquato Tasso* production can be traced in the revisions Liszt made to *Tasso* post-production.

At the *Tasso* production, the overture bore very little relation to the play. But hearing his work in performance, connected to the play, seems to have provided a catalyst for the composer. Revisions made afterwards, most particularly the composition of a new section in the style of a Minuet (Ex. 7), seem to have been made as a direct response to Goethe's play. This closer connection to the play was reflected in the title: *Tasso. Lamento e Trionfo* appears for the first time on this copy (GSA 60/A2a). The score probably dates from around 1854 and was likely used at the court concert on 19 April 1854 when *Tasso* was billed for the first time as a symphonic poem. Title, genre, programme, and form (as we will see in the following section) finally came together in this version.

Ex. 7: Liszt, *Tasso*, bb. 165-173

Allegretto mosso con grazia (quasi Menuetto).

Allegretto mosso con grazia (quasi Menuetto).

In his preface to the symphonic poem Liszt tells us that the Minuet section depicts Tasso's 'proud and sad figure, as it glides among the fêtes of Ferrara—the birthplace of his

masterpieces'.⁴⁸ The choice of F sharp major for this section was probably a programmatic one; the key is as remote as possible from the tonic and the symbolic associations of the tritone interval depict the 'deceptive and fallacious coquetry of those smiles, whose perfidious poison brought about the great catastrophe which could never find compensation in this world' as Liszt himself describes the court of Ferrara. Liszt references the minuet dance incorporating 'signifiers', such as the light, elegant dance-like character of the new transformation of the theme and the new triple time, in order to depict effectively the life of the court. This aspect of Tasso's story is entirely absent from Byron's *Lament of Tasso*, but courtly life, as we have seen, provides the background for the entirety of Goethe's play. *Torquato Tasso*, therefore, appears to have been the direct stimulus for this new section. This revision perhaps attests to Liszt's becoming more open to spoken drama as a stimulus, and his broadening conception of his embryonic orchestral series.

At bar 270 we hear the new Minuet transformation and the Tasso/gondolier theme in combination. At this point Liszt adds a note to the score: 'Here the orchestra assumes a dual character: the wind-instruments lightly and flutteringly; the cantabile stringed instruments sentimentally and gracefully.'⁴⁹ There is a definite attempt here to portray the movement of Tasso through the superficial court (aptly portrayed with 'light and fluttering' music). This is the only point in the piece where there is an attempt at a dramatic depiction of a character within a scene, as opposed to the more generalised, certainly atmospheric, but nonetheless abstract quality of the music composed pre-production. Liszt may even have been thinking of the actor Ludwig Dessoir who played Tasso in the Weimar production, perhaps in the first scene where Tasso receives his laurel wreath and has not yet begun the descent into paranoia. Dessoir was a famous tragedian who had come to Weimar to give a guest appearance. The

⁴⁸ Liszt, 'Preface to Tasso', X.

⁴⁹ Liszt, *Symphonische Dichtungen für Orchester*, 'Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo' (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel), 34.

instruction that Tasso's theme should be played 'sentimentally' and 'gracefully' matches descriptions of his acting style, which was of the classical, Goethe school.⁵⁰

In the depiction of character here Liszt perhaps looked once again to Beethoven for a model. Paul Robinson has noted that in *Fidelio* Beethoven uses a range of genres, forms, and styles 'in order to articulate different social and spiritual planes.'⁵¹ In particular, he notes that Italianate forms and bel canto singing are reserved for aristocratic and heroic characters.⁵² Equally, the sustained lines of the Tasso theme marked *cantando espressivo* seem deliberately chosen to depict Tasso's elevated spiritual plane in comparison to the rest of the court. The broad, legato bel canto style of the theme is contrasted against the breathy, staccato 2-bar motives of the chattering court. Overall, therefore, generic and stylistic devices from opera and the minuet dance can be interpreted as programmatic 'signifiers' in this symphonic poem.

Interestingly, it appears that Liszt's *Tasso* did receive at least one further outing as an overture to Goethe's play in 1877, but with further revisions made by Hans von Bülow. Kenneth Birkin informs us that, 'Hans sent his revision of Liszt's *Tasso* (purposed as a curtain raiser to Goethe's play) off to Hanover for copying' that year. And indeed, there are two undated letters in La Mara's collection, *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Hans von Bülow* in which Liszt responds to suggested cuts and revisions made by von Bülow to the *Tasso* score.

To begin with, von Bülow's suggestions are concerned with cutting back on percussion and brass instruments.⁵³ This was perhaps to make the work more suited to the

⁵⁰ Adrian Poole (ed.), *Great Shakespearians: Scott, Dickens, Elliot, Hardy* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 101.

⁵¹ Paul Robinson, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 107.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 107-8.

⁵³ See La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Hans von Bülow* (Leipzig, 1898), 350 (Letter 162, undated).

forces typical of theatre orchestras of the time. Next, von Bülow suggests transposing the whole of the *Meno Adagio* (the E major section) a tone higher. He proposed that the section from bar 120 should be rewritten so that this key could be reached.⁵⁴ Liszt wrote out this modulation in full in a later letter:

Transcription 3: from Letter 184 from Liszt to Hans von Bülow⁵⁵



This seems a little unusual: Liszt's contrasting key area would then have been F sharp major (a tritone above the C minor tonic) and the middle section would have continued in this key. Yet, in a letter responding to von Bülow's suggestion Liszt agrees to a cut of the *Meno Adagio*.⁵⁶ It appears, then, that the intention was for the opening C minor section to lead straight into the F sharp major 'Minuet' via a transposed transition section. Von Bülow, therefore, seemingly felt it necessary to retain the 'Minuet' in spite of the tritone interval

⁵⁴ Von Bülow in fact writes 'un ton entire plus bas' [a whole tone lower] but this must have been a mistake. Liszt sent the letter back to von Bülow, having annotated his agreement to most of the suggestions. Next to this one Liszt wrote 'plus haut?' [higher?]. See La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Hans von Bülow*, 350-2 (Letter 162). The music example included by Bülow shows that he did in fact mean a tone higher.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 383 (Letter 184, dated 8 July, no year).

⁵⁶ Ibid., 383 (Letter 184).

between C and F sharp, and at the expense of more quintessentially Romantic tonal relationships. This may have been because this section, as we have seen, is most related to Goethe's play. But probably the main reason was a practical one: he cut the E major section simply to shorten the piece.⁵⁷

Von Bülow also proposed several other cuts from the introduction, transitional sections and coda, which would have simplified the piece and shortened it further, again making it more suitable as a dramatic overture. These included cutting part of the introduction (bars 15-22), the transition between the *Meno Adagio* and the Minuet section (bars 145-164) and two sections of the coda (bars 517-529 and bars 546-560). The transition from bars 145-164 was naturally now no longer necessary without the *Meno Adagio*. Interestingly, von Bülow referred to it as the 'l'épisode de la folie'⁵⁸ [episode of madness]. It contains introductory material, as do each of the other transitions. He seems to suggest that it had a programmatic as well as a structural function—though von Bülow felt that audiences would not understand its programmatic meaning. Nonetheless, von Bülow seems to have interpreted it in terms of Goethe's play, in which Tasso's frequent soliloquies provide us with insights into his paranoid state of mind. Whether this idea came from Liszt himself is unknown. Yet, the following section on the formal development of the work shows that Liszt expanded the transitional sections throughout the revision process. Perhaps this was also a result of experiencing his music in association with the dramatic production.

⁵⁷ Wagner also found the opening of *Tasso* too long, and felt much of the piece was too ostentatious. See Cosima Wagner, *Diaries*, Vols. 1 and 2, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton (Collins: St James's Place, London, 1978-1980). In particular see Vol. 1, 132 (2 August 1869) and Vol. 2, 404 (28 November 1879). Here Cosima records: 'We then go through my father's *Tasso*, in which R. deplors the long-drawn-out lament at the beginning, the chain rattling and the excessive jubilation at the end.' Von Bülow could, of course have transposed the Minuet into E major. Perhaps he was keen to preserve the programmatic connotations of the tritone key relationship, or perhaps he felt more 'traditional' key relationships were not intrinsic to dramatic overtures.

⁵⁸ La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Hans von Bülow* (Letter 162), 351.

Negotiating Formal Expectations: from Liszt the Pianist to Liszt the Symphonist

The evolution of *Tasso* from characteristic piano piece to dramatic overture to symphonic poem provides important insight into Liszt's developing ideas on form. Revisions made at each of these stages created shifts in emphasis that often presented the same material in a new light with a slightly different function. Consequently, the form of the work changed in conjunction with the genre. Taken together, the existing manuscripts communicate a narrative of a composer, mostly schooled in piano genres, beginning to find his feet in traditional symphonic forms and eventually managing to negotiate a new and individual path. In order to interpret these formal developments, comparisons will be drawn with similar revisions Liszt made to the *Transcendental Studies*. James Hepokoski's ideas on rotational form will also be referenced to interpret the final innovations Liszt made to *Tasso*, as they provide a useful way of understanding the insertion of the Minuet section, which is based on transformations of earlier material.

To begin with, the piano piece in *Venezia e Napoli* was in loose variation form. The thematic material was initially presented in C minor and E major, and then it was heard in a variety of keys, textures and transformations, growing ever more brilliant and virtuosic towards the end. The variations were not separated into distinct sections delineating large-scale form, rather there was continuous melodic variation. This was largely an extension of an extempore approach we might associate with Liszt in his virtuoso days, and bore little apparent resemblance to a symphonic form.

As the first piece of *Venezia e Napoli* gradually became an orchestral piece, beginning with the N5 sketch, Liszt began by adding a longer introduction to the work, which contained the descending triplet motif from which the thematic material would grow. He also attached a new joyful transformation of the main theme (the 'Trionfo' that occurs in the published score at bar 397) preceded by a transition based on earlier material. The new transformation does

not occur in the piano piece, which ends with a C major version of the main theme (that in the *Moderato pomposo* section from b. 533 in the published score), rather than a new variant. But this version remained overall in loose variation form: the thematic material of the C major section is an obvious transformation of the material from the first section. Nonetheless, the work is structurally more defined: it now falls into two clear sections, rather than “spontaneously” presenting continual modulation and transformations. The closing C major tonic was established over a much more substantial period, and there was also a short coda based on a syncopated stepwise progression (a very early version of the Quasi Presto section of the published score from bar 501).

With these revisions Liszt began to move away from the idea of continual variation and mapped some aspects of a balanced, large-scale form (with characteristics of sonata form) onto his variation form. The piece now had an Introduction-Coda frame, and there was a far greater emphasis on tonic resolution and goal-oriented climax (though the new ‘Trionfo’ section was still based on the variation of the existing thematic material; it did not present a traditional sonata form recapitulation). Such revisions were very much akin to the kinds of changes he would make to several of the *Transcendental Studies* in 1851.⁵⁹

We have seen that Liszt then put the piece aside, perhaps for as long as eighteen months, only to return to it when he was commissioned to compose an overture. Intriguingly, the dialogue with sonata form became even more pronounced at this point. With the Fortsetzung Liszt significantly changed the ending of the work. After the ‘Trionfo’ section and syncopated presto he now added a traditional recapitulation of the E major second subject

⁵⁹ See Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), particularly ‘Chapter 5: Forms and Reforms’, 134-174. Liszt undertook much of the revision of the *Transcendental Studies* in the first months of 1851, often emphasising moments of thematic and tonal reprise and consequently giving his variation forms a greater sense of formal clarity and clearly prepared moments of climax. Samson has also found that Liszt often removed developmental material, ‘weakening the sense of successive strophes and strengthening the sense of a unitary arch-like design with an obvious fulcrum’ (p. 149). Both of these strategies can be related to *Tasso*. Finally, in revisions to the sixth and seventh etudes Samson found ‘a developing sequence from variation form through to variation form tinged with elements of sonata form’ (p. 156) as we find in *Tasso*.

and the counter melody from the first subject. This was retained in both Conradi's copy (B22) and the score used at the premiere performed as an overture to Goethe's play (Hs 107016). The presto now functioned not as a coda, but as a codetta rounding off the 'Trionfo' variation before the recapitulation.

After the syncopated presto, the recapitulation began with the E major second subject, now transposed to C. It reappears in Hs 107016 in a very similar scoring to that in the exposition and there is no melodic variation. With its appearance almost identical to that in the exposition, the new section clearly represented a traditional sonata-form style resolution of the contrasting key area. The traditional tonic transposition of the contrasting theme was followed by an exact repeat of the counter melody of the first subject. This then was heard in sequence with a B major harmony (though there was not an established modulation), ending on an F sharp major chord.

Transcription 4: Hs 107016, Recapitulation and transition

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes Horn in C, Trumpet in C, Trombone, and Bass Trombone/Tuba. The second system includes Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The Horn, Trumpet, and Trombone parts play a sustained chord, while the Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The score is in 4/4 time and begins with a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic.

3

C Hn.

C Tpt.

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

5

C Hn.

C Tpt.

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

7

C Hn.

C Tpt.

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

10

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

C Hn.

C Tpt.

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Vln. I

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

p

pp

13

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Vln. I

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.



17

Fl.

Cl.

Vln. I

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

20 *8^{ve}*

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Vln. I

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

24

Fl.

Cl.

Vln. I

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

28

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Vln. I

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

32

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

36

Cl.

Bsn.

C. Hn.

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

divisi.

divisi.

f

39

Bsn.

C Hn.

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

8^{va}

8^{va}

41

Picc. *ff* *div*

Fl. *ff*

Ob. *ff*

Cl. *ff*

B sn.

C Hn. *f*

E Hn.

C Tpt.

Tbn. *ff*

B. Tbn. *ff*

Vln. I *ff*

Vln. II *ff*

Vla. *ff*

Vc.

Cb.

45

Picc.

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

C Hn.

E Hn.

C Tpt.

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

(8)

(8)

(4)

(4)

48

Picc. 

(8)-----]

Fl. 

Ob. 

Cl. 

B sn. 

C Hn. 

E Hn. 

C Tpt. 

Tbn. 

B. Tbn. 

Vln. I 

(8)-----]

Vln. II 

(8)-----]

Vla. 

Vc. 

Cb. 

The recapitulation concluded with another transition⁶⁰ based on introductory material, this time heralding the coda. Three extra bars were added that led into the closing ‘apotheosis’: the final C major rhythmically augmented restatement of the main theme (equivalent to the *Moderato pomposo* bb. 533-537 of the published score—see Ex. 6). After this the new coda continued in a similar way to that in the published version (the coda to the overture almost exactly matches bb. 558-end of the symphonic poem).

The overture version performed with Goethe’s play therefore retained some elements of the variation form of the N5 sketch and piano piece. And it also retained the overture-coda frame, though there was a new coda with an apotheosis, as the original coda became a codetta. But now the piece was an overture, more emphasis was placed on reinforcing a sonata form outline. It now had a traditional recapitulation resolving the contrasting key area. To summarise, the overture had the following structure:

Table 2: the Formal Structure of Hs 107016

Introduction (Tripartite as in the published version)
Exposition: First subject (Adagio in C minor) Second Subject (Meno Adagio in E major)
Transition (Music from the introduction returns in fragmented form—similar to the transition after the first subject in published score)
‘Trionfo’ Variation (Triumphant transformation of main theme. C major, modulatory)
Recapitulation (Second subject in C rather than E major. Part of First subject—modulatory)
Transition (Repeat of introductory material in fragmented form—similar to transition after second subject in published score)
Coda (Apotheosis—C major, rhythmically augmented restatement of main theme followed by non-thematic closing material. Shorter than published score)

Structurally, then, *Lamento e Trionfo* became a fairly traditional overture. According to Nicholas Temperley’s article on the Overture in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and*

⁶⁰ This transition is very similar to the one that appears after the second subject (bars 145-164) in the published score, ending on F sharp major chords to introduce the Minuet in that key. Although he cut the recapitulation, Liszt was able to reuse the transition.

Musicians, ‘the established form was a single movement, generally with a slow introduction.

It was very much like the opening of a contemporary symphony except for the absence of a substantial development section.’⁶¹ It was also generally expected to ‘conclude with a fast

section of some brilliance.’⁶² *Lamento e Trionfo* fulfilled all of these established criteria.

Surprisingly, given his very public views on the relationship between programme and form, it appears that it was more important to Liszt, on being commissioned to compose an overture to *Tasso*, to comply with these formal considerations than to change the content of *Venezia e Napoli* to reflect the new “poetic” subject.

Liszt annotated the score of the overture with some substantial revisions. One of them instructed that the *Adagio Mesto* melody from bb. 62-75, which was in the French Horn in the overture, be rewritten for Bass Clarinet. The Weimar court orchestra did not own a bass clarinet until it became necessary for them to purchase one for the premiere of *Lohengrin*. This was done in the summer of 1850.⁶³ As there do not seem to have been any plans to purchase a bass clarinet before this, it seems likely that the annotations to the overture dated from after that time. The bass clarinet part initially appears in Raff’s first copy (GSA 60/A2b). Peter Raabe has suggested that this score dates from 1850-51. We can perhaps be even more precise, and suggest that it dates from after July 1850. *Lohengrin* had obviously inspired Liszt to use the bass clarinet as a solo instrument. Similarly, Paul Bertagnolli has observed that Raff added a bass clarinet part to *Prometheus* around the same time. It now prominently featured in the second theme area.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Nicholas Temperley, ‘Overture’ in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (2nd edn, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), xviii, 825.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 824.

⁶³ Hanjo Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1988), 112 (Letter 35 from Liszt to Wagner).

⁶⁴ See Paul Bertagnolli, “From overture to symphonic poem, from melodrama to choral cantata: Studies of the sources for Franz Liszt’s “Prometheus” and his “Chore zu Herder’s ‘Entfesseltem Prometheus’”, Ph.D. diss. (Washington University, 1998), 32. There are other minor scoring differences throughout Conradi’s copy of *Lamento e Trionfo*. These include the use of a clarinet in C for the whole of the C major ‘trionfo’ section. (This

Liszt also excised the recapitulation at this point (it does not appear in Raff's first copy: A2b), for the work was beginning to move away from the stage and back towards the concert hall. Significantly, the traditional recapitulation was not appropriate to Liszt's programme. Previously, we have seen that programmatic meaning was less of a priority for Liszt than a symmetrical, traditional structure. But his experience composing *Lamento e Trionfo* seems to have stimulated his thoughts towards a more flexible approach to form governed by content. Perhaps Liszt had become aware of Wagner's ideas on Beethoven's *Leonora Overtures*, which would be published in his 1857 article, 'On Liszt's Symphonic Poems'. Here Wagner writes, 'the repetition of the first part, after the middle section, is a weakness which distorts the idea of the work almost past all understanding...the evil could only have been avoided by entirely giving up that repetition; an abandonment, however, which would have done away with the overture-form'.⁶⁵ Liszt appears to have discovered this with *Tasso*. With the removal of the recapitulation and with further revisions detailed below Liszt negotiated a more innovative approach to traditional forms. This paved the way for the more flexible approach he would take in several other symphonic poems. Accordingly, revisions to some later symphonic poems do not generally include such a substantial change in form, presumably because Liszt had already worked out such ideas when composing and revising *Tasso*.

With these changes Liszt began to experiment with the traditional proportions of sonata form. As well as removing the recapitulation, Raff's GSA 60/A2b shows that there was also a much longer transition between the first and second subjects (in the overture the affect would have been much more abrupt). Liszt's extensive transitions and codas would continue to take on greater importance than those normally associated with sonata forms and

is scored for clarinet in B flat in the published score.) The change to clarinet in C for the C major section perhaps reflects Liszt's inexperience in writing for the clarinet.

⁶⁵ Richard Wagner, *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* Vol. 3, trans. Williams Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894), 245-6.

became a defining feature of the symphonic poem. The transition in GSA 60/A2b is virtually identical to that in the published score. And there was also a longer transition between the second subject and the ‘Trionfo’ variation. This was based on material from the introduction but was not an exact repeat (unlike the published version).

Transcription 5: GSA 60/A 2b (Equivalent to the repeat of the *Allegro strepitoso* in the published version)

Allegro agitato

The musical score is for five string instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. It is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked 'Allegro agitato'. The first system is marked 'mp' (mezzo-piano) and 'pizz.' (pizzicato). The second system is marked 'cresc.' (crescendo) and '8va' (octave). The score shows a repeat of the 'Allegro strepitoso' section.

Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
Contrabass

mp
pizz.

cresc.
8va

Picc.
 Fl.
 Ob.
 Cl. in C
 Bsn.
 C Hn.
 E Hn.
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.
 Cb.

cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.

(8)
 ^

Picc.
 Fl.
 Ob.
 Cl. in C
 Cl. in B \flat
 Bsn.
 C Hn.
 E Hn.
 C Tpt.
 Timp.
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.
 Cb.

Musical score for a symphony orchestra, measures 1-4. The score includes parts for Piccolo, Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in C, Clarinet in B \flat , Bassoon, Horn in C, Horn in E \flat , Trumpet in C, Timpani, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The music features a strong dynamic of fortissimo (*f*) starting in measure 2.

Picc.
 Fl.
 Ob.
 Cl. in C
 Cl. in B \flat
 Bsn.
 C Hn.
 E Hn.
 C Tpt.
 Timp.
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.
 Cb.

(8)-----|
f *con brio*
f *con brio*
f *con brio*
f *con brio*
f *con brio*

Detailed description: This is a page from a musical score, likely for a symphony or concert overture. It features staves for various instruments. The woodwind section (Piccolo, Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in C, Clarinet in B-flat, Bassoon) and brass section (Cornet in C, Horn in E-flat, Trumpet in C, Timpani) are shown in the upper half. The string section (Violins I and II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass) is in the lower half. The woodwinds and brass play mostly chords and rests. The strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Violins I and II have a dynamic marking of *f* *con brio* starting at measure 8. The Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass also have *f* *con brio* markings. The score is written in 2/4 time.

First system of the musical score, measures 1 through 5. The staves are labeled Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes across all instruments, with dynamic markings of *mf* and *p*.



Second system of the musical score, measures 6 through 8. The staves are labeled Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The music continues with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamic markings include *mf* and *p*.



Third system of the musical score, measures 9 through 11. The staves are labeled Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The music continues with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Dynamic markings include *mf* and *p*.

And, finally, Raff's 1850 A2b score also included a much longer coda than in previous versions. Overall the revisions made at this stage then, aside from excising the recapitulation, focussed on expanding the transitional sections and coda.

One final change was yet to be made as far as the form was concerned: the composition of a new section in a minuet style placed in between the first section and the 'Trionfo'. With this addition the piece took on neither a variation form, nor a sonata form, but a rotational form. James Hepokoski describes rotational form as a process by which a composer

initially presents a relatively straightforward "referential statement" of contrasting ideas. This is a series of differentiated figures, motives, themes, and so on... The referential statement may either cadence or recycle back through a transition to a second broad rotation. Second (and any subsequent rotations normally rework all or most of the referential statement's material... Portions may be omitted, merely alluded to, compressed, or, contrarily, expanded or even "stopped" and reworked "developmentally".⁶⁶

Rotational form, therefore, consists of an exposition of thematic material that returns in clearly delineated sections forming a large-scale structure. Hepokoski and Darcy have applied this idea to sonata form, though the idea that a development section could be considered a 'rotation' has been criticised.⁶⁷ Yet, the 'rotational form' is highly applicable to *Tasso* in its final form, in which the development is 'replaced' by another variation of the main themes. The final stage of Liszt's revisions, therefore, saw the piece evolve from a variation form with some features of sonata form to a rotational form.

All of the melodic material from the first section reappeared within the Minuet section. Liszt also expanded on similar third-based tonal relationships. The piece was now formed of three broad sections or rotations, each presenting the same material in new ways. The sonata form influences remained only in the contrasting key area of the first section and the introduction-coda frame.

⁶⁶ James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 25.

⁶⁷ See Paul Wingfield, 'Beyond "Norms and Deformations": Towards a Theory of Sonata Form as Reception Theory', *Music Analysis*, 27/i (2008), 137-77.

We can date the composition of the Minuet section fairly certainly to the time of William Mason's stay in Weimar. Mason arrived there in April 1853. In his memoirs he recalls,

About the time I came to Weimar to study with him he had nearly finished "Tasso", and before giving it the last touches he had a rehearsal of it, which we attended. We went to the theater, and he took the orchestra into a room which would just about hold it. Imagine the din in that room! The effect was far from musical, but to Liszt it was the key to the polyphonic effects which he wished to produce.⁶⁸

Mason was surely referring to the section in the Minuet where we hear the Tasso theme at the same time as the minuet theme (from bar 270 of the published score). Liszt composed the Minuet section on correction pages (GSA 60/A2c), which were incorporated into a new copy very similar to the published score (GSA 60/A2a). Significantly, on the A2a score we see the subtitle 'symphonische Dichtung' for the first time in the series of manuscripts. With all the revisions Liszt had moved away from the traditional form associated with the overture and negotiated a more complex and innovative form which, as we have seen, was more appropriate to his developing programme and to his innovative new genre.

An investigation of the manuscripts reveals a gradual development from variation form and characteristic piano piece, to overture with strong sonata form overtones, to rotational form. The sonata form elements of the published version appear to be "residual" features left over from the re-conceptualisation of the piano piece as an overture. Yet these elements make for an unusual structure, which has inspired a variety of interpretations from analysts, most of which take sonata form as a starting point. The main existing analyses are summarised in Table 3:

⁶⁸ William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 121-22.

Table 3: Existing Analyses of *Tasso*

Steven Vande Mooretele ⁴¹³ (2-D sonata form) sonata cycle	Steven Vande Mooretele Simultaneous sonata form	Keith T. Johns ⁴¹⁴ Bildungsroman in ABA' form	Kenneth Hamilton ⁴¹⁵ Varied Sonata Form	Richard Kaplan ⁴¹⁶ Sonata Form
Introduction (bb. 1-26)	Introduction (bb. 1-26) c	Introduction bb. 1-61 (suffering) c	1-61 Introduction in ABA form	Introduction
No first movement	Exposition Main theme off-tonic segment bb. 27-61			Theme 1 c (Allegro Strepitoso, b. 27) Intro
Slow movement	Main theme tonic subsegment c	A section bb.62-164 funeral march, triumph c/E	First Subject – Adagio Mesto from bar 62	Theme 2 c-E bb.62-144 (preceded by recitative-like bridge passage) Intro
	Subsidiary theme bb. 91-130 A flat			
	Closing group bb. 131-144 E		2nd group (transformation of the first subject) in contrasting key of E major (b.131).	
	Introduction varied return			

⁴¹³ Based on the analysis in Steven Vande Mooretele, 'Beyond Sonata Deformation: Liszt's Symphonic Poem *Tasso* and the Concept of 2-Dimensional Sonata Form', *Current Musicology*, No. 86 (2008), 41-62.

⁴¹⁴ See Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997), 52.

⁴¹⁵ See Kenneth Hamilton, *Liszt: Sonata in B minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 24.

⁴¹⁶ See Richard Kaplan 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt: The Revolutionary Reconsidered', *19th Century Music*, 8 (1984), 149.

	bb. 145-164 F sharp			
Scherzo/minuet	Development bb. 165-347 F sharp	B section bb. 165-382 cantilena, minuet F sharp etc.	Minuet in F sharp Major, bar 165 (replaces development)	Minuet
	Recapitulation main theme off tonic subsegment bb. 348-374		Recapitulation of minuet and adagio mesto in tonic C major from bar 383.	Recapitulation theme 1c Intro Minuet C b. 383 Allegro con brio (coda starts here? Dual role) Theme 2 C b. 533(moderato pomposo)
	(Introduction varied return bb. 375-382) c			
Finale	No subsidiary theme group, but closing group, bb. 383-557 C	A' section triumph C	Final trionfo, b. 533—varied recapitulation of adagio mesto to crown the coda.	
	Coda bb. 558-584 C			Coda

The table shows that despite the fact that the analysts have taken sonata form as a starting point, their readings diverge considerably. Clearly *Tasso* in its final form causes problems when it is forced to fit this model. Analysts disagree on the beginning of the exposition. Both Kaplan and Vande Moortele place this at the *Allegro Strepitoso* simply because this section returns before the ‘Trionfo’. They, therefore, prioritise this over the clear tonal and rhetorical markers of the *Adagio mesto* at bar 62 and the fact that Liszt greatly expanded areas such as the introduction as part of his innovative approach. For these reasons their analyses diverge from Hamilton’s at this point.

Coupled with problems of structural delineation, analysts are often tempted to interpret *Tasso* as a double-function form. Vande Moortele and Michael Saffle characterise the Minuet rotation as a Minuet/Scherzo in a sonata cycle.⁴¹⁷ Both authors then try to find evidence of other large-scale movements within the piece. Yet, the further analysts try to take this theory, the more problems occur. The Minuet offers the only real evidence—Vande Moortele even admits that there is no ‘first movement’—and even the Minuet is not structurally ‘closed’. Hamilton simply refers to it as an ‘episode’, and the use of this term, or the term ‘rotation’ (given the repeat of earlier material in a new form), is much less problematic. The Minuet is also explained with reference to the programme and to Liszt’s theory of programme music, particularly where he writes

An element, through contact with another, acquires new properties in losing old ones; exercising another influence in an altered environment, it adopts a new name. A change in the relative proportions of the mixture is sufficient to make the resultant phenomenon a new one.⁴¹⁸

Here Liszt refers to his idea of giving greater emphasis to areas such as the introduction, transitions and coda, and also to lessening the role of the traditional recapitulation.⁴¹⁹ And he

⁴¹⁷ Michael Saffle, ‘Liszt’s orchestral music’, in Ben Arnold (ed.) *The Liszt Companion* (Westport Conn.; London: Greenwood, 2002), 245.

⁴¹⁸ Franz Liszt, ‘Berlioz and his “Harold” Symphony’, in *Source Readings in Music History* Vol. 5 ed. Oliver Strunk (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1965), 113.

also suggests that by referring to a different genre, it is possible to create something new. In using the ‘Minuet’ he refers to an earlier time and aptly depicts the elegance of the court. And this section also refers to staged genres, suggesting characters, scenery, and movement. Stylistic and generic mixture would become an important feature of the symphonic poem, as we will see.

Overall, an understanding of the evolution of the piece aids the analyst in interpreting the form. It is clear that as an overture Liszt found the sonata structure too traditional and inappropriate for his programme. As his conception of his new genre developed, so did his treatment of form. His forms took on new complexities and defy easy categorisation, accounting for the diverging views of analysts today. But, in its final form, it seems more convincing to view *Tasso* as a rotational/sonata form hybrid:

Table 4: *Tasso* as a Rotational/Sonata Form Hybrid

Introduction	Mutli-tempo, tripartite bb. 1-61
Exposition/First Rotation	First subject (C minor, modulatory, bb. 62-130) Second subject (E major, bb. 131-144)
Transition	Based on opening triplet motif. Bars 145-164.
Minuet Rotation	F sharp major, modulatory. Based on material from exposition. Bars 165-347.
Transition	Based on material from introduction. Bar 348-375.
Trionfo Rotation	C major, based on material from exposition. Bars 383-476
Coda	Bars 475-end. Includes much sequential, non-thematic material and is crowned by a rhythmically augmented transformation of the main theme in C major (bb. 533-542)

⁴¹⁹ Again, the position of the recapitulation divides analysts. The new transformation that appears here leads Vande Moortele to suggest that it is a recapitulation of the Minuet theme and not the main theme, whilst Kaplan thinks the recapitulation may also function as a coda.

To conclude, *Tasso* has a crucial position in the development of Liszt's conception of the symphonic poem. Its gradual development from piano piece, then orchestral piece based on *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, to overture to *Torquato Tasso* to symphonic poem reveals a gradual increase in the range of generic reference. Liszt's experience in the Goethe Festival provided his first mature involvement in dramatic production. To begin with he was an uncertain dramatist, reluctant to relinquish his initial idea that his orchestral work should depict poetry, and only gradually making concessions to the possible theatrical function of his music. Yet, in the wake of this experience Liszt began to adopt a more dramatic approach, taking Beethoven's Overture to *Egmont*, and possibly also *Fidelio* as models. This is noticeable initially in the appended coda, but most of all in the inserted 'courtly scene': the 'Minuet section', in which Tasso's movement through the court of Ferrara is depicted. This latter revision was made in 1854, after Liszt began to realise that *Sardanapale* would not be completed. And in the absence of another suitable operatic subject, Liszt's projected orchestral series became much more than a collection of pieces based on poetry—it became a partial replacement for the dramatic genres absent from his compositional repertoire.

In addition to representing a broadening of conception and approach, the revisions to Liszt's *Tasso* also reveal his developing treatment of form. To begin with, the form of the N5 sketch was closely related to the variation structures of Liszt's piano music. With the commission to provide an overture Liszt naturally turned to sonata form. Yet, this was too restrictive for a "symphonic poem" and its complex, intertextual programme. He gradually hit upon a rotational form—a development of the variations of the piano pieces—but he also retained references to sonata form. Without the restrictions of sonata form, Liszt did not have to sacrifice his programme to the obligatory standard recapitulation. He would still provide

tonal resolution without dogmatically reprising his second subject in the tonic. He could also incorporate new programmatic material in a new rotation.

Finally, an examination of *Tasso* in the context of its composition clearly demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between Liszt's work as Kapellmeister and the symphonic poems. The circumstances of the *Lamento e Trionfo* premiere influenced the choices of orchestral forces, programme, and form. Several of these aspects changed after the premiere, some of them, such as the composition of the 'Minuet', perhaps as a direct result of Liszt hearing the work in conjunction with Goethe's play. The experience as a whole created a fruitful starting point from which Liszt could begin to work out his ideas on the relationship between music and drama, and between staged genres and the symphonic poems. The following chapters will examine refinements of ideas that originated in *Tasso* through some of the later symphonic poems.

Chapter Three: *Orpheus*, the Opera Liszt Never Wrote

We have seen that at Weimar Liszt was responsible for conducting concerts and operas, and he was occasionally commissioned to compose short festival pieces for particular celebrations, or to provide incidental music for dramatic performances. We have also seen that the Weimar years coincided with Liszt's desire to complete a mature opera, but that this was not to be. Instead, his musico-dramatic impulses were to have a different outlet—largely directed towards his new genre, the symphonic poem, and indeed this genre was influenced in many ways by the staged works he conducted in Weimar. It is widely known that Liszt's *Orpheus* was written for a performance of Gluck's opera of the same name in Weimar, and that he also wrote closing music for the performance, but the exact relationship between Liszt's music and the opera has never yet been fully investigated. This chapter will consider the impact of the original performance context on the symphonic poem. It will also further explore Liszt's ideas on genre, specifically his interchangeable use of the terms 'Overture' and 'Symphonic Poem'.

In order to address these questions, it will be necessary to refer to the existing manuscripts. There are fewer available autograph sources relating to *Orpheus* than for other symphonic poems, with only one complete score extant, part of the collection of the *Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv* in Weimar (GSA 60/A4). Tucked between the pages of this score is a sheet of short score for piano on systems comprising two to four staves with instrumental cues. It contains annotations referring to another score that is presumably now missing. Lina Ramann believed that Liszt wrote *Orpheus* over a period of fourteen days.¹ This information probably came from the composer himself, possibly keen to give the impression that his works were produced in an inspired episode of creative fever. Yet a *Festklänge* score dated 11

¹ Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2 (Leipzig, 1880-94), 282.

August 1853 (GSA 60/A7d) also contains some motivic material from *Orpheus*. This seems to have been the first time that Liszt worked on the piece, six months prior to the February performance. It is possible that at this point Liszt may not have been aware of the purpose to which he would later put the motif. Yet, both *Festklänge* and *Orpheus* were premiered on occasions associated with the 50th jubilee festivities for Maria Paulowna.² It seems likely, therefore, that Liszt had this occasion in mind when composing both pieces. Another source also sheds interesting light on the 1854 performance: Liszt's closing music to Gluck's *Orphée*, which was considered lost by Lina Ramann,³ but which Peter Raabe later reassembled from parts he discovered in the *Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv* (GSA 60/A4a).⁴ Using these sources, we can build up a new picture of the genesis of *Orpheus*.

After providing some brief context about the performance, this chapter will demonstrate a number of ways in which Gluck's opera influenced Liszt's stylistic approach to the symphonic poem. Once again, it will use these generic and stylistic signifiers of Gluck's style and of song-writing generally as a means of interpreting programme and form in this work. Then it will examine the manuscript of the overture, identifying ways in which it was linked to the first Act of Gluck's opera. Several of these elements no longer appear in the published score. Finally, the chapter will conclude by examining the closing music.

² Detlef Jena, *Maria Pawlowna: Großherzogin an Weimars Musenhof* (Graz; Vienna; Cologne: Verlag Styria, 1999), 324.

³ See Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2, 282: 'Ein Theaterzettel, im Grossherzoglichen Archiv zu Weimar befindlich, besagt: „...mit Orchester-Vorspiel und Schluss, mit Musik von Fr. Liszt“ – von diesem „Schluss“ konnte ich nichts ermitteln.'

⁴ Peter Raabe, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2: Liszt's Schaffen (Tutzing: Schneider, 1968), 299.

Liszt's *Orpheus* Production

Figure 1: Playbill of the 1854 *Orpheus* Production

Anfang dieser Vorstellung um 7 Uhr.

Hof-Theater.

Weimar, Donnerstag den 16. Februar 1854.
(Bei festlich erleuchtetem Hause.)
Zum Erstenmale:

Orpheus und Eurydice.

Mythologische Oper in drei Akten.
Nach dem Französischen des Molin, von J. D. Sander.
Musik von Gluck.
(Orchester-Vorspiel, sowie Schluß-Musik der Oper von Dr. Franz Liszt.)

Orpheus, Sohn des Deagrus und der Kalliope,	Hr. Liebert.
Eurydice, seine Gemahlin,	Fr. Wilde.
Amor,	Frl. Schulz.
Orpheus Begleiter, Schäfer, Schäferinnen.	
Wächter des Tartarus.	
Dämonen. Furien. Höllengeister.	
Genien. Geister der Seligen.	
Amouretten, Zephyretten.	
Götter des Olymp.	

I. Akt: spielt in einem Haine, am Grabe Eurydices.
II. Akt: am Tartarus und im Elysium.
III. Akt: am Ausgang des Tartarus, später in einem Wolkenhaine.

Achte Vorstellung im Siebenten Abonnement.

Preise der Plätze:

Fremden-Koge	1 Thlr. — Sgr.	Parterre-Koge	— Thlr. 15 Sgr.
Balkon	— „ 20 „	Parterre	— „ 10 „
Sperreloge	— „ 20 „	Gallerie-Koge	— „ 7 1/4 „
Parfet	— „ 15 „	Gallerie	— „ 5 „

Anfang um 7 Uhr. Ende gegen 9 Uhr.

Die Billets gelten nur am Tage der Vorstellung, wo sie gelöst worden.

Der Zutritt auf die Bühne, bei den Proben wie bei den Vorstellungen, ist nicht gestattet.

Das Theater wird halb 6 Uhr geöffnet.

Die freien Entrées sind erst um 7 Uhr gültig.

There is little available information on the production of the Gluck opera itself, aside from Liszt's own remarks in his essay 'Orpheus von Gluck' which originally appeared in the *Weimarische Zeitung* on 22 February 1854 and in *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on 28 April that year.⁵ The performance took place on 16 February 1854.⁶ The part of Orpheus was sung by Dr Eduard Liebert, a newly engaged tenor. Liebert had joined the Weimar Company the previous autumn, for a talented new male lead was required to sing the demanding role of Tannhäuser (the Weimar theatre was by now beginning to put on Wagner's opera regularly). Eurydice was sung by one of Weimar's stars, Rosa von Milde, and Amor by a Fräulein Schulz.

The standard of the lead roles would have been high—Rosa von Milde was widely acclaimed, and Liszt writes admiringly of Liebert's talents in his letters⁷ (in fact, Liszt attributed the success of the *Orpheus* production to the tenor⁸). At the time of the performance the regular orchestra boasted thirty-five members. More may have been drafted in if necessary, though Liszt would have found it comparatively easy to muster the forces needed to fulfil the requirements of Gluck's relatively small orchestra compared to the Wagnerian orchestras he had had to assemble for previous recent performances. Unfortunately, the present author has yet to find a review of the production, but the standard of the musicians

⁵ See Franz Liszt, 'Orpheus von Gluck', in *Sämtliche Schriften*, Vol. 5, ed. Detlef Altenberg (Breitkopf Härtel, 1989), 11-15.

⁶ Another performance of Gluck's *Orpheus und Eurydice* was mounted in Weimar on 30 April 1856. Johanna Wagner sang the role of Eurydice. It is almost certain that Liszt conducted this performance; he mentioned it in a letter to Wagner: 'Johanna ist seit acht Tagen hier und hat den Orpheus und Romeo mit dem *enormsten* Beifall gesungen.' [Johanna has been here for a week, and has sung Orpheus and Romeo to the most enormous applause.] Hanjo Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1988), 473 (Letter 218, 5 May 1856). However, the playbill for this performance does not mention Liszt's Overture and Closing Music. Whether they were used is unknown. There do not appear to have been any other performances of the opera whilst Liszt was in Weimar.

⁷ Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 336. (Letter 141, 31 October 1853)

⁸ See La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 8 (Leipzig, 1905), 113 (Letter 96 to Princess Wittgenstein, 2 March 1854).

and Liszt's comments to Princess Wittgenstein suggest that it was fairly successful.⁹ Indeed, Liszt writes in the preface to *Orpheus* that the idea for composing the symphonic poem came to him whilst conducting a rehearsal of Gluck's *Orpheus*.¹⁰ If this is true, it seems unlikely that a weak rendition would have inspired him.

Liszt conducted the 1774 'Paris' version of the opera, *Orphée*.¹¹ The score and parts to *Orphée* that date from Liszt's time are kept in the archives of The Liszt School of Music in Weimar, alongside the majority of the rest of the music that the theatre owned. They are heavily cut, and, occasionally, short additional numbers have been inserted. The cuts and inserts are consistent between the parts and the score. Yet, the annotations rearrange the opera into 4 acts, whereas Liszt's production was in the traditional 3. It seems likely, therefore, that these were made for the performance of the opera on 1 June 1871, which was the first time the opera was performed in Weimar in 4 acts.¹² It may well be the case that Liszt did also use this score, but it is impossible to tell which annotations are his and which came later, as they often consist of a single strike through a particular number. Interestingly, Julius Kapp writes that 'On 16 February [1854] Gluck's *Orpheus* followed as a festival performance in an arrangement (Bearbeitung) of Liszt's.'¹³ The use of the word 'Bearbeitung' probably simply referred to the overture and closing music, but it could also suggest that Liszt made further substantial revisions to the opera, sources for which are now unidentifiable.

⁹ Liszt writes simply, 'et j'ai fait monter l'*Orphée* de Gluck pour la fête de S. A. I Mme la Gde Duchesse Douairière. Ce dernier ouvrage a été, je m'en flatte, très bien donné, attendu que nous avons un ténor qui possède une magnifique voix.' [and I have put on *Orphée* by Gluck for the celebration for Her Royal Highness Madame the Dowager Grand Duchess. This latter work has been, I flatter myself, very well given, since we have a tenor who has a magnificent voice.' See *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁰ Liszt, Preface to *Orpheus* (Edition Eulenburg No. 450), v.

¹¹ This is supported by the fact that the lead role was sung by a tenor, and that the playbill above records that the libretto was based on a translation made by J. D. Sander of Pierre Louis Moline's text. Moline was the translator and librettist of the Paris *Orphée*.

¹² Information based on the playbill. See http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/receive/ThHStAW_archivesource_00003193?jumpback=true&maximized=true&page=/012219.tif&derivate=ThHStAW_derivate_00028328 [accessed 6 June 2012]

¹³ See Julius Kapp, *Franz Liszt* 3rd edition (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster and Loeffler, 1911), 158.

We have seen in Chapter One that it was customary to celebrate court birthdays with the performance of a new opera. The performance of Gluck's *Orpheus und Eurydice*, which was the Weimar premiere of the work, was put on for the birthday of the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna, and also formed part of the jubilee celebrations given in honour of the Grand Duchess that year. Given the occasion, it was probably expected that Liszt should compose a new work. It would have been an ideal opportunity to unveil his first opera. Yet Liszt, of course, still had not completed *Sardanapale*, and, indeed, had largely given up on it by this point. Instead he chose to update Gluck's opera, but he made sure to use the occasion to further his own aims. He chose an opera that he considered representative of his own aesthetic. The programming of his own work as a complement to Gluck's effectively and immediately highlighted his compositional agenda. And the strategic choice of repertoire did not match current tastes, which favoured Italian opera.

Following the Weimar *Orphée* performance, Liszt published his essay, 'Orpheus von Gluck', which mentions that he chose *Orpheus* for its edifying qualities, from which he felt his audience could benefit.¹⁴ He also suggested that Wagner's music dramas were descendents of Gluck's operas.¹⁵ Certainly, Gluck's music was revered by Liszt, Berlioz and Wagner because it prefigured aspects of their artistic ideals. All three men praised Gluck in their writings for striving to attain a deeper association between poetry and music¹⁶ and they also used their prospective positions to attempt 'revivals' of Gluck's most famous works. Wagner had already conducted his own arrangement of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide* when Kapellmeister in Dresden in February 1847, and had published an article on it.¹⁷ Liszt had

¹⁴ Liszt, 'Orpheus von Gluck', in *Sämtliche Schriften*, Vol. 5, 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13. See also Hector Berlioz, *Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration* (Paris: Henry Lemoine). The very first example is from Gluck's *Alceste* (see page 8), but there are also many others.

¹⁷ Richard Wagner, 'Gluck's Overture to "Iphigenia in Aulis"' in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* Vol. III: the Theatre, trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894), 155-166.

also put on *Iphigénie en Aulide* in Wagner's arrangement for the Grand Duchess's birthday in 1850.¹⁸ Similarly, Berlioz undertook important revivals of *Orphée* in 1859 and *Alceste* in 1861 and 1866 at the Théâtre Lyrique. These revivals were also the topic of some of his published writings.¹⁹

In his essay, Liszt also claimed that the ideas of those associated with the so-called 'New German School' were related to Gluck's. This was a further means by which Liszt could give an historical pedigree to his own work. More specifically, Liszt praised the way in which Gluck's melodies closely followed the meaning of the text. He remarked upon Gluck's concern for the relationship between music and drama, which, he felt, 'demonstrated a rare penetration into the future of his art'. Indeed, Liszt suggested that Gluck had sowed the seeds for a new approach, which was only now being brought to fruition (in the work of the 'New German School').²⁰ By associating his own work with Gluck's in performance, and by highlighting those aspects that he felt to be forward thinking, Liszt positioned his symphonic poems as a natural, if chronologically distant, outcome of Gluck's treatment of music and drama in his operas.

Having selected an opera that would match his own ideals, Liszt then made sure that his own compositional contribution could form part of a broader project. We know that Liszt's *Orpheus* was first performed as an overture on 16 February 1854. Its premiere as a 'symphonic poem' took place on 10 November that year. It is likely, however, that Liszt considered that the work could be published as part of a series of 'symphonic poems' very early on in its conception. We have seen that even by 1850 Liszt planned to publish a series of

¹⁸ Kesting (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, 99. (Letter 29, 14 January 1850)

¹⁹ Berlioz contributed articles including a biography of Gluck and an analysis of *Iphigénie en Tauride* to the *Gazette musicale*, as well as several to the *Journal des débats* on *Alceste*. See Joël-Marie Fauquet, 'Berlioz and Gluck' (trans. Peter Bloom) in *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz* ed. Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 199-210.

²⁰ Liszt, 'Orpheus von Gluck', in *Sämtliche Schriften*, Vol. 5, 13.

(as yet unnamed) orchestral pieces. And just after the *Orpheus* production, he wrote to Louis Kohler on 2 March 1854 that ‘At the end of the year you shall get some still greater guns from me, for I think that by that time several of my orchestral works (under the collective title of “Symphonische Dichtungen”) will come out.’²¹ It seems unlikely that Liszt would have gone to the trouble of writing an Overture and Closing Music for only one performance,²² and highly likely that he had it in mind from the outset that he would put the music to another purpose.

Gluck as a Stylistic Model

The playbill for the 16 February performance of *Orpheus und Eurydice* announces ‘Music by Gluck (Orchestral Prelude as well closing music to the opera by Dr. Franz Liszt.)’²³ That Liszt felt it necessary to remove Gluck’s own overture and replace it with his own is easily understandable. Although *Orfeo* was the first of Gluck’s reform operas, it was only later that he attempted to relate his overtures to the operas they introduced. And then increasingly he began to require that they ‘shall not only introduce the mood of the opera, but also set forth its argument.’²⁴ Patricia Howard makes the important point that ‘In *Orfeo*...the drama begins with the rise of the curtain; in *Alceste* it begins with the first notes of the overture’.²⁵ Indeed, Gluck’s Overture to *Orfeo* might well be considered too bright and lightweight to introduce ‘appropriately’ the opera that follows. It appears completely

²¹ See La Mara (ed.), *Letters of Liszt*, trans. Constance Bache 2 Vols. (London, 1894), 183 (Letter 109 to Louis Kohler, 2 March 1854). For the original see, La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 1, 150: ‘Mit Ende des Jahres sollen Sie von mir noch größeres Geschütz bekommen, denn ich denke, dass bis dahin mehrere meiner Orchester-Werke (unter dem Collectiv-Titel „Symphonische Dichtungen“) erscheinen.’

²² The existing playbills suggest that *Orpheus* was only performed twice in Weimar during Liszt’s tenure; indeed perhaps only once with Liszt’s Overture and Closing Music, as neither is mentioned in the playbill for the second performance. See http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/receive/ThHStAW_archivesource_00026212?jumpback=true&maximized=true&page=/009651.tif&derivate=ThHStAW_derivate_00044372 [accessed 6 June 2012]

²³ See Figure 1.

²⁴ Patricia Howard, *Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963), 90.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 90.

unconnected to the opera, and thus would have seemed wholly unsuitable, at least from Liszt's Romantic perspective, in preparing the audience for the beautiful, sombre first chorus in which Orpheus, in a grove by the tomb of Eurydice, mourns the loss of his lover. Liszt likely saw the role of the overture as a summary of the main events of the production to follow, or as a means of preparing the mood. It seems probable that he, like many other listeners, found the overture unsatisfactory and wanted to bring it closer in line with some of Gluck's later post-reform overtures.

Consequently, Gluck's influence permeates the style and form of the symphonic poem in several ways. In his essay '*Orpheus* von Gluck' Liszt particularly praised the simplicity of Gluck's music, the economy of its resources, and its unadorned melodies.²⁶ A similarly restrained approach is to be found in the symphonic poem. Liszt has often been criticised for his inclination towards big finishes and grand virtuosic flourishes, but *Orpheus* with its thoughtful orchestration, subtle, effective harmonies, and simple appealing melodies represents a very different style. This subtlety and simplicity was particularly praised by Wagner.²⁷

The concision of *Orpheus* has been noticed by commentators, who have pointed out that all of the melodic material originates from one tune. Kaplan argued that 'the themes display an intricate web of interrelationships'²⁸ and Kleinertz admits that 'in many cases it is difficult to decide if a new melodic unit should be denoted as a more or less identical

²⁶ Franz Liszt, 'Orpheus von Gluck', 11.

²⁷ See Richard Wagner, *My Life*, trans. Andrew Gray, ed. Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 542.

²⁸ Richard Kaplan, 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt: The Revolutionary Reconsidered', *19th Century Music*, 8 (1984), 151.

repetition “a”, as a variant of the former unit “a”, or as a contrasting element “b”.²⁹ *Orpheus* is, effectively, monothematic.

The melody from which the melodic material is derived is simple, symmetrical, and song-like:

Ex. 1: Liszt, *Orpheus* bb. 15-20



The ‘new’ ‘contrasting’ theme at bar 72 (Ex. 2) is clearly related to it.

²⁹ Rainer Kleinertz, ‘Liszt, Wagner, and Unfolding Form: *Orpheus* and the Genesis of *Tristan und Isolde*’ in *Franz Liszt and his World* ed. Christopher Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 235.

Ex. 2: Liszt, *Orpheus* bb. 72-75

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: Cor Anglais and Clarinet in A, spanning measures 72 to 75. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 4/4. The Cor Anglais part (top staff) begins with a half note G#4, followed by a half note A4, then a quarter note B4, and a quarter rest. In measure 73, it has a half note C#5, a half note D5, and a quarter rest. In measure 74, it has a half note E5, a half note F#5, and a quarter rest. In measure 75, it has a half note G#5, a half note A5, and a quarter rest. The Clarinet in A part (bottom staff) begins with a half note G#3, followed by a half note A3, then a quarter note B3, and a quarter note C#4. In measure 73, it has a half note D4, a half note E4, and a quarter note F#4. In measure 74, it has a half note G#4, a half note A4, and a quarter note B4. In measure 75, it has a half note C#5, a half note D5, and a quarter note E5. Dynamics include *p* (piano) and *espress.* (espressivo) markings. The Cor Anglais part has *espress.* markings above measures 72, 73, and 74. The Clarinet in A part has *p* markings below measures 72, 73, and 74, and an *espress.* marking above measure 73.

The connection is even more evident in the early autograph, which shows that originally the ‘contrasting’ theme consisted of slower rhythmic values. It demonstrates even more clearly that Liszt developed this ‘new’ theme out of the opening one. Not only does it begin with sustained notes, but it is also followed by five crotchets instead of five quavers:

Transcription 1: Draft of Ex. 2 from Liszt, *Orpheus*, Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4)

72

Cor Anglais

Clarinet in C

Bassoon

Harp

Viola

Violoncello

pizz.

3

The musical score is for five instruments: Cor Anglais, Clarinet in C, Bassoon, Harp, and Viola/Violoncello. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 4/4. Measures 72-74 show the woodwinds and strings playing sustained notes and triplets. Measure 75 shows the woodwinds playing sustained notes and the strings playing triplets. Measure 76 shows the woodwinds playing sustained notes and the strings playing triplets. The Viola and Violoncello parts are marked 'pizz.' (pizzicato) and feature triplets of eighth notes. The Harp part features sustained chords and single notes. The Cor Anglais part features sustained notes and a melodic line in measure 75. The Clarinet in C and Bassoon parts feature sustained notes and a melodic line in measure 75.

77

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hp.

Vla.

Vc.

Liszt's melodies notably avoid virtuosic display, just as Gluck famously attempted in his vocal writing.³⁰ All of the themes are lyrical and usually accompanied by arpeggios in the harp and pizzicato strings, as if Orpheus were accompanying himself on his lyre. Certainly some of Liszt's contemporaries, including Felix Draeseke and Lina Ramann, refer to the themes as 'songs' in their analyses of the work.³¹ Indeed, Liszt's preface to the symphonic poem seems to encourage us to conceptualise the thematic material as song. He suggests that his aim through the whole work was to depict Orpheus singing:

If I had been going to work out my idea in full, I should like to have portrayed the tranquil civilising character of the songs, their powerful empire, their gradually voluptuous tones, their undulation sweet as the breezes of Elysium, their gradual uplifting like clouds of incense, their

³⁰ See Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1976), 122.

³¹ For example see Felix Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861* ed. Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff and Helmut Loos (Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1987), 185.

clear and heavenly spirit enveloping the world and the entire universe as in an atmosphere, as in a transparent vesture of ineffable and mysterious harmony.³²

This song-like simplicity is particularly evident in the main theme. It is easily singable, it is formed of relatively even note values and constructed in even phrases. Indeed, its structure is uncomplicated. We hear a 6-bar phrase with a 6-bar answer, and then the whole 12-bar phrase is repeated. Subsequently, we hear a new melodic idea that is closely related to the first. This is repeated in sequence. Now the whole of this second phrase is heard again. Gerald Abraham once criticised Liszt for this style of writing,³³ and it is true that there is a certain amount of repetition in several of the symphonic poems, though not quite to the extent that we encounter in *Orpheus*. In this case, the reasons seem related to the compositional and performance context.

Schubert's sonata forms have commonly been criticised for their extended lyricism which writers often relate to song-writing.³⁴ Su Yin Mak has commented on lyricism in Schubert's sonata forms with reference to the 18th-century literary concepts of sentence construction: hypotaxis and parataxis. The hypotactic style is concerned with development, plot, sequences, cause and effect and teleology. We associate such ideas with sonata form. In contrast, the paratactic style is static. It juxtaposes successions of images, downplaying the roles of syntax and hierarchies. Accordingly, it is often associated with lyric forms.³⁵

In paratactic music, keys are juxtaposed rather than prepared, tonal hierarchies are undermined by the use of modulation by tone between indirectly related keys, phrases are repeated rather than developed, and works are constructed from static blocks. All of these features are to be found in *Orpheus*. The juxtaposition of keys is particularly apparent in the

³² Liszt, Preface to *Orpheus*, v.

³³ Gerald Abraham, *100 Years of Music* 4th edition (Worcester: Duckworth, 1974), 40.

³⁴ See Su Yin Mak, 'Schubert's Sonata Forms and the Poetics of the Lyric', *The Journal of Musicology* Vol. 23, No. 2 (2006), 263-4.

³⁵ For a fuller discussion of parataxis and hypotaxis see *Ibid.*, 263-306, particularly, 274-6.

opening (Ex. 3), which begins by unfurling broken chords in the harp, first on a chord of E flat major, then the dominant 7th of D major and then we finally hear the main theme beginning in the tonic: C major. A common note provides the link between these juxtaposed harmonic areas: G. Instead of preparing C major with chords on the dominant, the dominant is contextualised in a number of ways, creating a succession of tonal possibilities, and a feeling of timelessness rather than forward movement.

Ex. 3: Liszt, *Orpheus*, bb. 1-14

Andante moderato. F. Liszt.

Piccolo-Flöte.	
2 Flöten.	
2 Hoboen.	
Englisches Horn.	
2 Clarinetten in A.	
2 Fagotte.	
1 Horn in F.	
1 Horn in C.	
Erste Harfe.	

This musical score is for a string quartet and piano. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes staves for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The second system includes staves for Violin I, Violin II, and Piano. The score is in 3/4 time and features several dynamic markings and performance instructions. The first system has a *smorz.* marking above the Violin I staff. The second system has a *dimin.* marking above the Violin I staff, a *smorz.* marking above the Violin II staff, and a *mf* marking below the Piano staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and slurs.

Musical score system 1, featuring multiple staves. The system includes:

- Two staves with *pp* (pianissimo) markings and long, sweeping melodic lines.
- Two staves with *pp* markings and long, sweeping melodic lines.
- Two staves with *dimin.* (diminuendo) markings and long, sweeping melodic lines.
- A grand staff (treble and bass clef) with a complex, flowing melodic line.
- A grand staff (treble and bass clef) with a complex, flowing melodic line.

Musical score system 2, featuring multiple staves. The system includes:

- Two staves with *smorz.* (sforzando) markings and long, sweeping melodic lines.
- Two staves with *smorz.* markings and long, sweeping melodic lines.
- A grand staff (treble and bass clef) with a complex, flowing melodic line.
- A grand staff (treble and bass clef) with a complex, flowing melodic line.

Song (and the accompanying concept of parataxis) provided an important model for the style of this work. In fact, one of Liszt's own songs, concerned with a similar subject matter, provided a fruitful starting point. This was his 1849 song, *Die Macht der Musik*, whose subject, as the title suggests, is the power of music and its peculiar ability to bring happiness, evoke memories and reveal truths, in which it is more effective than language. The opening of the song is particularly reminiscent of *Orpheus*. It begins with a very similar figure to bb. 38-39 of the symphonic poem. The monotonal repetition, of course, prefigures that of the *Orpheus* melodies, but the oscillating harmonies, with an inner note moving by step and then returning, are also very similar. This is followed by broken chords to be played 'quasi Arpa' with a similar chromatic suppleness to those at the very beginning of *Orpheus*.

Ex. 4: Liszt, *Die Macht der Musik*, bb. 1-8



Ex. 5: Liszt, *Orpheus*, bb. 38-9

The musical score for measures 38-39 of Liszt's *Orpheus* features the following parts:

- Horn in F:** Plays a melodic line starting on G4, moving to A4, then Bb4, and finally C5. The dynamic is *mf un poco marcato*.
- Horn in C:** Plays a similar melodic line starting on E4, moving to F4, then G4, and finally A4. The dynamic is *mf un poco marcato*.
- Harp:** Provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords in the right hand and single notes in the left hand. The dynamic is *f*.
- Violin I:** Plays a sustained harmonic starting on G3, moving to A3, then Bb3, and finally C4. The dynamic is *p*.
- Violin II:** Plays a sustained harmonic starting on E3, moving to F3, then G3, and finally A3. The dynamic is *p*.
- Viola:** Plays a sustained harmonic starting on D3, moving to E3, then F3, and finally G3. The dynamic is *p*.
- Violoncello:** Plays a sustained harmonic starting on B2, moving to C3, then D3, and finally E3. The dynamic is *p*.
- Contrabass:** Plays a sustained harmonic starting on G2, moving to A2, then Bb2, and finally C3. The dynamic is *p*.

There are also further motivic similarities to be found. A theme from the second subject of *Orpheus* can also be found in *Die Macht der Musik*.

Ex. 6: Liszt, *Die Macht der Musik*, bb. 237-42



Ex. 7: Liszt, *Orpheus*, bb. 84-6



And there are similarities between another *Orpheus* motif and one in *Die Macht der Musik* marked 'Quasi recitativo'.

Ex. 8: Liszt, *Die Macht der Musik*, bb. 39-40



Ex. 9: Liszt, *Orpheus*, bb. 82-4



The melodic treatment in *Die Macht der Musik*, based on the repetition rather than development of symmetrical phrases, is comparable to that in *Orpheus*. Even the structure as a whole, which begins in e minor, with a contrasting section in A flat major and then ends in E major is similar to the key scheme, C major-E major-C major, of the symphonic poem. Overall, it appears that the subject matter of his symphonic poem and its relation to Gluck's opera naturally led Liszt to seek inspiration in song and the lyrical paratactic style.

Liszt's restrained approach, drawing on Gluck's example, also permeated the structure of the piece. Draeseke remarks on the simplicity of the form, finding a 'Liedsatz' or song form with the A section from bars 1-71, a 'trio' from bars 72-129 and then a 'free repeat' of the first section from bars 130 to the end.³⁶ Rather than the complex experiments with sonata form that we find in several other symphonic poems, *Orpheus* is constructed along much simpler lines.

Some analysts have interpreted *Orpheus* differently. Richard Kaplan interprets *Orpheus* as a sonata form as it displays 'what may be regarded as three fundamental aspects of sonata organization: a tonal dichotomy which eventually is resolved, a concurrent thematic duality, and a return or recapitulation.'³⁷ However, Rainer Kleinertz finds 'no architectonic form' in *Orpheus*.³⁸ Instead, there is 'a constant unfolding of small, 'open' elements into

³⁶ Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861*, 186-68.

³⁷ Kaplan, 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt...', 145.

³⁸ Kleinertz, 'Liszt, Wagner, and Unfolding Form...', 237.

greater units.³⁹ These interpretations are not entirely mutually exclusive. Certainly there are some aspects of sonata form in *Orpheus*, but no development. Indeed, it seems that Liszt expected to be criticised for this, for in a letter to Alexander Ritter he answered Ritter's request for the *Orpheus* score by dryly asking 'But have you considered that *Orpheus* has no proper working out section...?'⁴⁰ Overall, Draeske's analysis seems the most convincing, and is supported by the key scheme, tempo markings, orchestration and the lack of development. What is more, Liszt approved of it.⁴¹

Within the simple overarching structure, there are, naturally, still some anomalies. Despite Liszt's comments, the B section does include some characteristics of a development. It is modulatory, and we encounter new combinations of the existing thematic material. Equally, the recapitulation or A¹ section that begins at bar 130 is not a straight reprise. It too presents the main themes in new ways and there is even a brief episode at bar 180 where the second subject appears in B major. Furthermore, it is difficult to pinpoint where the B section ends and the reprise begins.⁴² Nonetheless, the final section still clearly functions as a reprise, and we do consequently hear the main theme in the tonic. Overall, Liszt appears to have taken a simple song form, perhaps in response to the simplicity of Gluck's music, and experimented with the structure.

³⁹ Ibid., 240.

⁴⁰ La Mara (ed.), Letters of Franz Liszt, trans. Constance Bache Vol. 1, 296 (Letter 168 to Alexander Ritter, 4 December 1856). Translation of 'Haben Sie *aber* auch überlegt, dass der Orpheus keinen eigentlichen *Durchführungs-satz* enthält' in La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe* Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1893), 245.

⁴¹ Liszt wrote to Princess Marie Wittgenstein that 'l'article de Draeske sur *Orphée* m'a fait aussi grand plaisir surtout par la parfaite intelligence qu'il démontre de la structure de ce morceau, et l'éloge qu'il fait des mesures finales, pour lesquelles j'ai un faible.' [Draeske's article on *Orpheus* also gave me great pleasure, especially through the perfect understanding he demonstrated of the structure of the piece, and his praise of the final bars, for which I have a weakness.] See Pauline Pocknell, Malou Haine, Nicolas Dufetel (eds), *Lettres de Franz Liszt À la Princesse Marie de Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst Née de Sayn-Wittgenstein* (Paris: Vrin, 2010), 153 (Letter 54, 20 April 1858).

⁴² At bar 130 we hear the sequence from the first subject group re-enter in the tonic C major. This could be considered the start of the recapitulation, but it serves to introduce the triumphant reprise of the first subject at bar 144 in the tonic, which to the listener sounds like a more obvious recapitulation.

One of the means by which Liszt differentiates the sections of his structure is through the use of texture. Again, we can hear Gluck in Liszt's approach. In the A section he imitates Gluck's use of chordal blocks in the opening funeral chorus. First we hear the melody in the horns supported by arco lower strings and bassoon, then we hear it in a new texture of upper winds and pizzicato strings. The B section contrasts with these block textures. In this section we hear several different solo lines in the woodwind and first violin against arpeggios in the harps and pizzicato strings. The texture becomes thicker as the music becomes more impassioned, and then thins out again towards the end of the section. Once again, the solo lines give the impression of voices and the accompaniment suggests the strumming of a lyre.

Unlike other symphonic poems, the three sections of this work are not related to a narrative. Instead, the programme is treated in a similar manner to the static tableaux of Gluck's opera. Liszt provides certain images or tableaux in his preface to the symphonic poem. The first is an image of Orpheus based on an Etruscan vase at the Louvre in which Orpheus enchants the wild beasts of the field with his song.⁴³ Draeseke suggests that this image is associated with the A section,⁴⁴ and indeed, the opening harp arpeggios, suggestive of Orpheus's lyre, and the song-like quality of the melody supports this.

The other image is Orpheus weeping for Eurydice. Liszt praised Gluck's restrained manner in depicting Orpheus's grief in the first chorus. He suggests that the depiction of pain is noble and restrained.⁴⁵ Draeseke believed that the B section of the symphonic poem depicts Orpheus's grief.⁴⁶ The approach here is equally restrained. A solo violin has a simple *piano* melody against a sparse orchestration of harp arpeggios and sustained chords in upper winds. The melody returns in an augmented version just before the end of the work, perhaps

⁴³ Liszt, Preface to *Orpheus*, v.

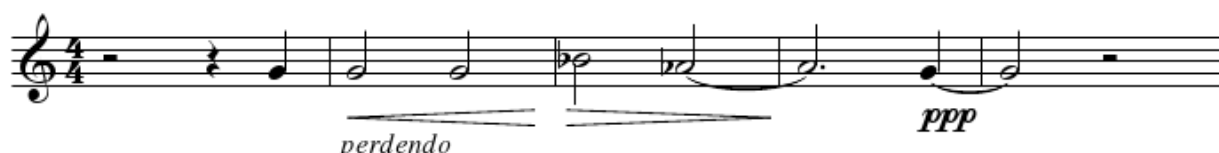
⁴⁴ Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861*, 186-7.

⁴⁵ Liszt, 'Orpheus von Gluck', 12.

⁴⁶ Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861*, 187-8.

deliberately in anticipation of Orpheus's lamentation in Gluck's chorus. Intriguingly, this melody bears a motivic resemblance to that of the chorus, supporting the idea that this was Liszt's intention.

Ex. 10: Liszt, *Orpheus* 210-214



Ex. 11: Gluck, *Orphée* Act I, Scene i, bb. 15-20



Patricia Howard has noted that Gluck's reform overtures provided a continuous link to the first scene. They would occasionally end on a dominant chord, leading straight into the action. On other occasions, the mood and metre would create a seamless transition.⁴⁷ Liszt accordingly used several devices to link the symphonic poem to Gluck's opening funeral chorus in addition to this motivic allusion. The sustained G's of the horns, which open the symphonic poem and also constitute the beginning of the main theme that begins at bar 15 (as well as the beginning of each of the other themes in the piece), anticipate the sustained G's of the opening of Gluck's chorus. The C major tonality and final chord pave the way for Gluck's C minor tonality. The two works also share the same time signature and a similar tempo marking: the chorus is marked *Moderato* and the symphonic poem *Andante moderato*.

Finally, the symphonic poem ends with a series of ethereal rising chords closing on the tonic, C major marked *pianississimo*. This ending, as we will see, was an addition to the

⁴⁷ Howard, *Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera*, 90-92.

overture score, yet the overture also originally died away in a restrained manner. In both cases Liszt avoided the triumphant positive sense of closure prepared by bars of sequences, tremolos, and repeated perfect cadences that we find in a work such as *Festklänge* or *Tasso*. Instead, the restrained ending of both versions could aptly provide a link to Gluck's chorus. In all of these ways Liszt appears to have deliberately taken Gluck as an important model when approaching this symphonic poem. Accordingly, Gluck's influences can be found in the melodies, paratactic style, use of form, texture, approach to the programme, and the restrained style of the ending.

All of these Gluckian influences are preserved in the published symphonic poem. The following section examining the existing *Orpheus* manuscripts will reveal further connections that were removed during the revision process. We will see that these were mainly made for practical purposes to create a smooth transition between Liszt's Overture and Act One of Gluck's opera.

***Orpheus*: the autograph score as an overture**

The autograph score is undated and also untitled. It is impossible to ascertain for certain, therefore, whether Liszt thought of it as an overture or as a symphonic poem, whether this score was used in the February performance, or exactly where it lies in the compositional process. Yet, several scoring similarities between the autograph, Liszt's closing music and Gluck's opera, which were removed during the revision of the symphonic poem, suggest that this was the version performed with the opera. The following section will examine the differences between overture and symphonic poem in detail, suggesting that together they reflect an even more restrained approach than is found in the published score, and in turn this approach stems from Gluck's influence. Yet, before embarking on this examination it is

necessary to establish that Liszt was indeed responsible for these choices. He did not rely on an amanuensis in this case, and paid great attention to scoring and textural details.

The page of short score and the autograph are both in Liszt's hand and provide fascinating insight into his compositional methods. The short score shows that the melodies and harmonies were worked out in detail from an early stage. There are even written annotations indicating which instruments were to play which parts. The notes on orchestration could have been intended for an amanuensis. However, it seems more likely that these annotations were for Liszt's own use, as the autograph score of *Orpheus* provides evidence of Liszt working out such details himself. For example, the section from bb. 132-44 that leads into the reprise of the main theme in C major seems to have given Liszt some trouble for he made many corrections to this page in the autograph and seems to have changed his mind several times about the accompaniment; there are no fewer than three different versions of the string parts. It appears that Liszt decided upon the harmonies in the string parts in the first version, but was less sure about their textural disposition:

Transcription 2: Version 1 of the string parts bb. 132-44

132

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

pizz.

arco

arco

135

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

pizz.

arco

arco

pizz.

139

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

arco

Db.

pizz.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 139, 140, and 141. Vln. I and Vln. II play a triplet of eighth notes in measures 139 and 140, then have a rest in measure 141. Vla. plays a half note in measures 139 and 140, then plays a chord in measure 141. Vc. and Db. play a half note arco in measures 139 and 140, then have a rest in measure 141. In measure 141, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Db. play chords, while Vln. I has a rest.

142

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 142, 143, and 144. Vln. I has a rest in all three measures. Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Db. play chords in measures 142 and 143, then have a rest in measure 144.

Transcription 3: Version 2 of the String Parts, bb. 132-40

The image displays three systems of musical notation for Violin II and Viola. Each system covers measures 132, 135, and 138. The Violin II parts (top staves) are written in treble clef and feature a continuous triplet of eighth notes. The Viola parts (bottom staves) are written in bass clef and feature a continuous triplet of eighth notes. The measures are marked with measure numbers 132, 135, and 138. The notation includes various accidentals and phrasing slurs.

An even earlier version of the last few bars of this section (bb. 140-44) is present in the transcription of the short score below (see Transcription 11). What were to become the flute and oboe parts are present in the top stave. The middle stave is very similar to the first violin part in the published score. And the bottom stave became the cello part (although the minims were changed to *pizzicato* crotchets). All of this suggests that Liszt considered textural details from an early stage, but took great care to refine them himself through different versions. The scoring details examined in this section can, therefore, be attributed to Liszt alone.

In fact, many of the most significant differences in the autograph are related to scoring and texture. Generally, Liszt's choices give the impression of an even more restrained

approach than we find in the published score. The opening of the autograph differed from the published version in that the texture was originally much sparser: there were no flute, clarinet and bassoon chords, only the horns in octaves. Similarly, in the published score from bb.102-110 (Ex. 12) we find a solo violin line that adds embellishment to the flute melody and an extra dimension to the texture. This does not appear in the autograph.

Ex. 12: Liszt, *Orpheus* bb. 102-108



And in the Lento section from bar 180 Liszt exercises more restraint in his use of the brass section than we find in the published score. The brass and timpani parts that appear from bars 186-190 do not feature in the autograph. When the brass section does enter in the autograph (in a passage equivalent to bars 191-194 of the score) their rhythms differ from those in the published version. The rising crotchets in the bassoon from bars 198-90 are also missing. The bassoon instead has simple sustained chords. Furthermore, the harp part that enters at 191 and continues until the end of the piece also seems to have been an afterthought—it is added in an extra stave at the bottom of each of the last three pages. Finally, the string parts from bars 200-203 were also somewhat different, with quavers instead of crotchets. Again Liszt corrected these parts at the bottom of the page. All of this created a texture that was considerably simpler than that in the published version.

Transcription 4: Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4), bb. 186-203

186

The musical score is for measures 186-203. It features the following instruments and parts:

- Oboe:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Cor Anglais:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Clarinet in C:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Bassoon:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Horn in F:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Violin I:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Violin II:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Viola:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Violoncello Solo:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Violoncello:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.
- Double Bass:** Measures 186-187 have a whole note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 188-189 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*. Measures 190-191 have a half note chord (F#4, C#5) marked *f*.

The score is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The dynamics are marked *f* (forte) throughout. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

[illegible]

229

197

Picc.

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

C Tpt.

Tbn.

Tba.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Vc.

Db.

200

Picc.
 Fl.
 Ob.
 Cl.
 Bsn.
 Hn.
 Hn.
 C Tpt.
 Tbn.
 Tba.
 Timp.
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.
 Vc.
 Db.

It is possible that the texture in the autograph is more restrained than that in the published score simply because Liszt continued to revise texture and scoring details as he went along. However, some details of the scoring do appear decidedly related to Gluck's choices in *Orphée*. In the published score there are two harps. They naturally play a fairly prominent role throughout because they represent Orpheus playing his lyre. The autograph score contains only the first harp part, and on some occasions even that is missing (for example from bars 38-65 where it doubles the tune). Its role is therefore somewhat minimised.

It seems likely that Liszt wrote for only one harp in the autograph score of *Orpheus* simply because there is only one harp in Gluck's opera. Liszt may have wanted to maintain some continuity with Gluck's music in the scoring of his own work, and he may also have found it impractical, if not impossible, to bring in an extra harpist just for the overture. This would suggest that the autograph score (or at least a score very similar to it) was the one used in the February performance. In Liszt's closing music the harp is tacet for the entirety of the number. It seems highly probable that Liszt chose not to include a harp here because after Act II, Scene i the harp is also tacet for the rest of Gluck's opera. Liszt probably felt it inappropriate or impractical to suddenly bring the harp back at the end.

The smaller role for harp may also be attributed to the fact that at the time of writing the Weimar Court Orchestra had no regular harpist. In the spring of 1854, the virtuoso harpist Jeanne Pohl moved to Weimar to play both as a soloist and in the Weimar Court Orchestra, but it is not known whether she played in the February performance. It may have been a little too early. She would, however, have performed in the premiere of the symphonic poem in November 1854. Having such a talented musician at his disposal was very probably a factor in Liszt's decision to embellish the harp part. Indeed, a comment to La Mara many years later

suggests that Liszt associated the part with Jeanne Pohl. In Leipzig on 12 September 1867 Liszt attended a concert with La Mara that was given by some pupils of a Viennese music institute. La Mara recalled that ‘The first item was *Orpheus*. “Here comes Frau Pohl!” he [Liszt] whispered to us at the introductory chords on the harp’.⁴⁸ Once he had composed the second harp part, Liszt seems to have felt that it was indispensable. In a letter to Hans von Bülow on 28 December 1858 Liszt wrote that it would be possible to perform *Orpheus* with only one harp, but only if Bülow’s harpist, Carl Grimm, arranged the two parts into one.⁴⁹ Clearly the second harp part, which did not exist in the early version of *Orpheus*, could now not be ignored. The opening of the autograph immediately presents the harp in broken chords, but the pattern is slightly different from the published version, and the rhythm augmented:

⁴⁸ Adrian Williams (ed.), *Portrait of Liszt By Himself and His Contemporaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 422.

⁴⁹ See La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Liszt und Hans von Bülow* (Leipzig, 1898), 241 (Letter 101, 28 December 1858).

Transcription 5: the Opening of the Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4) of *Orpheus*

The image displays a musical score for two instruments: Horn in F and Harp. The score is divided into three systems, each separated by a double bar line.

System 1 (Measures 1-3):

- Horn in F:** Measures 1 and 2 contain whole notes (F4 and G4). Measure 3 contains a half note (F4). The dynamic marking *p* (piano) is placed below the first measure.
- Harp:** Measures 1 and 2 are rests. Measure 3 contains a triplet of eighth notes (F4, G4, A4) beamed together, with a triplet '3' below. The dynamic marking *mf* (mezzo-forte) is placed below the triplet.

System 2 (Measures 4-5):

- Horn in F:** Measure 4 contains a whole note (F4). Measure 5 is a rest.
- Harp:** Measures 4 and 5 contain continuous triplet eighth notes. The dynamic marking *p* is implied from the first system.

System 3 (Measures 6-8):

- Horn in F:** Measure 6 is a rest. Measure 7 contains a half note (F4). Measure 8 contains a whole note (F4). The dynamic marking *p* is placed below measure 8. Above measure 7, the text "rit." (ritardando) is written with a dashed line.
- Harp:** Measures 6 and 7 contain triplet eighth notes. Measure 8 is a rest.

The image displays a musical score for two instruments: Horn (Hn.) and Harp (Hp.). The score is divided into measures 10, 13, and 14. Measure 10 shows the Horn playing a long note and the Harp playing a triplet. Measure 13 shows the Harp playing a triplet. Measure 14 shows the Harp playing a triplet and a 'rit.' marking above the staff.

Another intriguing difference in instrumentation between the autograph and the published score is that the clarinet part in the former is written for clarinet in C, whereas in the published score it is written for clarinet in A. It could be that Liszt found it easier initially to write for a non-transposing instrument and intended it to be transposed for the clarinet in A at a later date. This seems unlikely, however, as it was not his standard practice.⁵⁰ The fact that Liszt's closing music is also scored for clarinet in C sheds further light on the matter. As the score for the closing music is based on the parts that were actually used during the production, this makes it likely that a clarinet in C was in fact used in the overture as well. It further supports the idea that the version of *Orpheus* that served as the overture may actually be the autograph score that is held in the collection of the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv.

⁵⁰ The Clarinet part in the autograph score of *Hamlet*, for example, is written for Clarinet in A, and the horns in *Orpheus* are written in F to cite just a couple of examples.

Nonetheless, the choice of the C clarinet does seem slightly unusual.⁵¹ We know that in the eighteenth century clarinets were restricted regarding the number of keys in which they could play because they could only produce a limited number of accidentals. The choice of clarinet depended at that time on the key of the piece. By the nineteenth century developments in the construction of the clarinet meant that this was no longer a factor, so it would not have been necessary for Liszt to have chosen the clarinet in C simply because he was writing in C major. Clarinets in B flat and A were generally preferred because they were considered to have a superior tone and the clarinet in C began to fall out of use during the nineteenth century as a result of this. Gluck wrote for two Chalumeaux in *Orfeo*. This instrument, which is related to the clarinet, evolved in the seventeenth century as an orchestral instrument, but was replaced by the clarinet in the early part of the eighteenth century. When revising the opera for the Parisian stage Gluck removed the Chalumeaux parts and replaced them with a part for clarinet in C. It would appear, then, that Liszt deliberately chose the clarinet in C for practical reasons because it was needed for the rest of the opera, and perhaps also in an attempt to match Gluck's sound. Naturally, this was not necessary when the 'overture' was performed independently, and so the part was transposed for the now more popular clarinet in A when the work was reborn as a Symphonic poem.

Not only does it appear that Liszt deliberately matched his choice of instrument to Gluck, but he also seems to have imitated Gluck in the way in which the clarinet is used. The second subject is a case in point. It has been noted above that the theme originally appeared in a rhythmically augmented version that Liszt seems to have discarded fairly early on. He crossed the whole page out and started again with the melody now as it appears in the published version, except that it was entirely for the Cor Anglais at this point; the Clarinet did

⁵¹ Although Liszt did write for it on occasion: *Les Préludes* and *Prometheus*, for example, both require a Clarinet in C.

not yet take over the quavers (see Ex. 2). This is also true where the melody returns at bar 102 and 180. The scoring is, therefore, consistent throughout: the melody consistently appears solely in the Cor Anglais rather than swapping to the Clarinet for the second half. We may assume that this was the case when it was performed as part of the overture.

Transcription 6: Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4), bb. 72-76

72

The musical score for measures 72-76 is written for a full orchestra. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes parts for Oboe, Cor Anglais, Clarinet in C, Bassoon, Horn in E, Harp, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass. Measures 72 and 73 are marked with a forte (*p*) dynamic. The Cor Anglais part in measure 72 is marked *espress.* (espressivo). The Harp part in measure 72 is marked *p*. The Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass parts in measure 72 are marked *pizz.* (pizzicato). The Violoncello part in measure 73 is marked *p*. The Double Bass part in measure 73 is marked *pizz.* (pizzicato). The score is transcribed for measures 72-76, with the first measure (72) starting with a forte (*p*) dynamic.

Oboe

Cor Anglais

Clarinet in C

Bassoon

Horn in E

Harp

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

espress.

p

pizz.

p

pizz.

p

pizz.

p

pizz.

p

74

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

E Hn.

Hp.

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

p

pizz. p

3

3

3

3

The scoring of the second subject reflects a wider trend regarding Liszt's clarinet writing throughout the autograph score. Liszt used the Clarinet in C primarily for harmonic support rather than for melodic interest—just as Gluck used it in *Orphée*. In the published symphonic poem the Clarinet in A is given significantly more melodic material than in the autograph. In the published score, for example, the clarinet in A doubles the descending melody of the oboe at bars 82-3 and again when this melody recurs at bars 112-3, but the clarinet in C is tacet at these points in the autograph. The only exception to this trend is in the section from bars 132-144 which leads up to the triumphant reprise of the first subject in C major. In the published score the clarinet in A has a descending counter-melody at bars 130-131, 133-34, 136-7 and 139-140. In the autograph the clarinet in C also has this counter-melody, although it was originally given to the trumpet—Liszt appears to have changed his mind and wrote 'Clarinet' over the trumpet stave. Again, it seems likely that these differences in Liszt's clarinet writing between the autograph and the published version reflect his desire to maintain some consistency between his and Gluck's orchestral style. When the work was performed out of its original context this was no longer necessary and the clarinet part began to take on a more varied role.

The ending of the autograph score also differs from that in the published version. It was originally 8 bars shorter. In the autograph the melody from the B section led straight into the final chord of the piece. This was held for an extra bar. The rising chords in the woodwind and strings from 214-221 did not yet exist. Reeves Schulstad has suggested that Liszt composed these chords as a response to Pierre Simon Ballanche's *Orphée* (1829).⁵² This extra programmatic detail, stemming from Liszt's personal response to the subject, and drawing on a broader range of reference than Gluck's opera alone, naturally came later. The melody from

⁵² See Reeves Shulstad, 'Liszt's symphonic poems and symphonies' in *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* ed. Kenneth Hamilton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 208.

the B section that bears such a similarity to the opening of Gluck's Chorus would thus originally have led more or less straight into the chorus itself. The final chord was also more restrained than that of the published version: it was held only by the clarinets and flutes⁵³ with a closing pizzicato crotchet in the strings, rather than the full orchestra. Interestingly, despite its generally reduced role in the autograph, the harp originally also had two bars of rising arpeggios and then two more glissando chords in the last five bars of the piece. In the published version the harp is tacet here.

⁵³ Incidentally, the autograph shows that Liszt had at first intended to divide the chord between clarinets and flute slightly differently. The flutes had sustained e²'s and c²'s, whilst the clarinets had g¹'s and e¹'s. In the autograph this is crossed out and the parts have been swapped around to appear as they do in Transcription 7 below.

Transcription 7: the Ending of the Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4)

206

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system includes Flute, Cor Anglais, Clarinet in C, and Bassoon. The Cor Anglais part features a melodic line with a slur and the marking *espress. dolente*. The second system includes Harp, which plays a series of chords marked *pp*. The third system includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass. The Violin I, Violin II, and Viola parts play sustained chords marked *pp*. The Violoncello and Double Bass parts play a rhythmic pattern marked *pp* and *pizz.*

Flute

Cor Anglais

Clarinet in C

Bassoon

Harp

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

espress. dolente

pp

pp

pp

pp

pizz.

pp

pizz.

210 poco rit. a Tempo

Fl.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

perdendo

pp

215

Fl.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

pizz.

pp

pizz.

pp

pizz.

pp

pp

pp

pp

Yet, perhaps even more indicative of Gluck's influence than these scoring details is the more classical approach to harmony and phrasing that we find in early drafts of the score. The opening has been praised for its complex chromatic harmony,⁵⁴ but in Liszt's first sketches of the opening melody, his harmonies were much more straightforward. Liszt's innovative approach to harmony is often praised, even by his detractors. In *Orpheus* we find a subtle, flexible approach that is used to tinge the music, as Wagner suggested with 'Wonne and Weh' or 'bliss and woe'. Wagner explained his theory about music's capacity to depict opposing yet related sentiments (such as Wonne and Weh) through subtle harmonic shifts in *Opera and Drama*.⁵⁵ And Friedrich Schnapp, the editor of *Lisztiana*, recalled that on a (now lost) questionnaire on the Symphonic Poems completed by Liszt for Lina Ramann, Liszt claimed that in *Orpheus*, 'R. Wagner found there was a wavering between bliss and woe [*Wonne und Weh*], which moved him profoundly.'⁵⁶

Yet, the flexible harmonic subtlety of the symphonic poem was not so obvious in early drafts, which reveal a more traditional approach. The first known sketch of the main theme from *Orpheus* appears at the end of the first draft of *Festklänge*, dated 11 August 1853. The first appearance of the main theme is supported by a firm C major chord in root position. In the following bar a B flat is introduced, turning the chord into a dominant seventh in the key of F, which resolves to an F major chord in root position. Yet, in the published score, the opening G's of the melody are unaccompanied and so the first chord we hear is that of the dominant 7th of F major. We do not hear a cadence in the tonic of C major until bar 20, and even then the cadence is weakened: the tonic appears in second inversion, the root of the chord delayed until the third beat of the bar, and then quickly falling to B natural then B flat.

⁵⁴ See Kenneth Hamilton, 'Liszt', *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony* ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 155.

⁵⁵ See *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, Vol. II: Opera and Drama, 291-3.

⁵⁶ See Lina Ramann, *Lisztiana* (Mainz: Schott, 1983), 9.

This leads into a strong perfect cadence in the dominant at bar 26. In Liszt's initial sketch the tonic is affirmed in a much stronger manner. In the cadence from bars 19-20 both the dominant and tonic appear in root position and are sustained on strong beats: the dominant on beat 3 and the tonic on the first beat of the following bar:

Transcription 8: First Draft of the 'Orpheus' Theme



It is perhaps natural that a first sketch should be refined and become more sophisticated in later drafts. Yet, the complete autograph score contains some evidence of perhaps deliberately “classical” cadences. The second half of the main theme is a case in point. This melody first appears from bars 15-26 in the horns and cellos. The autograph reveals that originally there was an extra bar in between bars 25 and 26 in the published score. It contained a semibreve G. This made the whole phrase 13 bars in length instead of twelve. This does not appear to have been a mistake because the next time the melody appears in the autograph (bb. 26-37) the same thing happens again—there is an extra bar.

Transcription 9: Autograph Score (GSA 60/A4), bb. 15-27

15

The musical score is for measures 15-27. It features five staves: Bassoon, Horn in F, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass. The time signature is 4/4. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score includes dynamic markings such as *mf* and *espress.*, and various musical notations including slurs, accents, and phrasing slurs. The Bassoon part begins with a *mf* dynamic and a phrasing slur. The Horn in F part begins with a *mf* dynamic and an *espress.* marking. The Viola part is mostly silent. The Violoncello part begins with a *mf* dynamic and a phrasing slur. The Double Bass part begins with a *mf* dynamic and a phrasing slur.

Bassoon

Horn in F

Horn in F

Viola

Violoncello

Violoncello

Double Bass

21

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

Vla.

Vc.

Vc.

Db.

mf

mf

mf

25

The musical score for measures 25-27 is presented for four instruments: Bsn. (Bassoon), Hn. (Horn), Vc. (Violoncello), and Db. (Double Bass). The Bsn. staff is in bass clef, while the Hn., Vc., and Db. staves are in treble clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The Bsn. part features a melodic line with a slur over measures 25-26 and a final note in measure 27. The Hn. part has a melodic line with a slur over measures 25-26 and a final note in measure 27. The Vc. part has a melodic line with a slur over measures 25-26 and a final note in measure 27. The Db. part has a melodic line with a slur over measures 25-26 and a final note in measure 27. The Vc. part also includes a 'pizz.' (pizzicato) marking in measure 27. The Db. part includes a 'pizz.' (pizzicato) marking in measure 27. The score is marked with measure numbers 25, 26, and 27.

The autograph also shows that Liszt eventually crossed out the “extra” bars from the score, and so we can assume that the theme appeared as it does in the published version when it was performed as part of the overture. Nonetheless, the cadence at the end of Transcription 9 is somewhat reminiscent of Gluck’s style. We hear similar cadences in the number at the beginning of Act I, Scene ii of *Orphée*, ‘Objet de mon amour’. The first cadence is resolved in a related way, using a rising leading note (bb. 3-4). Later on we hear another cadence that is first sung and then immediately afterwards repeated in the orchestra (bb. 13-16).

Ex. 13: Gluck, *Orphée*, Act I, Scene ii: 'Chiamo il mio ben così', bb. 1-17

(Andante moderato.)

Flauti. *p* *f* *p*

Chalumeaux. *p* *f* *p*

Violini. *f* *p* *f* *p*

Viola. *p* *f* *p*

Orfeo. *p* *f* *p*

Fagotti,
Violoncello
e Basso. *p* *f* *p*

Cembalo. *p* *f* *p*

Chia-moil mio ben co - sì, quan-do si mo - strail di, quan-do s'as -
 Rla - gend ge - dent ich - Dein, früh, wenn der Mor - gen blinzt, spät, wenn die

*) Eco. II. Orch. I. Orch.

Eco. Echo. II. Orch. I. Orch.

(pp) *(p)* *(pp)* *(p)* *(pp)* *(p)* *(pp)* *(p)*

con - de, quan - do s'as - con - de! Ma oh va - no
 Dämm - rung finft, spät, wenn die Dämm - rung finft. Doch stumm ber -

Eco. II. Orch. I. Orch.

Eco. Echo. II. Orch. I. Orch.

(pp) *(p)* *(pp)* *(p)* *(pp)* *(p)* *(pp)* *(p)*

Liszt also uses a similar statement-response technique in *Die Macht der Musik* where the piano accompaniment also tends to repeat a cadence after it is sung. The use of this style perhaps, then, reflects not only a Classical approach, but also an imitation of vocal music.

The fashioning of this theme seems to have troubled Liszt. The draft of the melody from the *Festklänge* score, which predates that in the autograph, has a different ending that is equally prosaic:

Transcription 10: Draft of Main *Orpheus* Theme from *Festklänge* Score (GSA 60/A7d)



Even the version of the theme that did make the final cut is “classicising”. Overall, each of these attempts at composing a cadence to this melody seems to reveal an attempt to mimic the musical style of Gluck.

Overall, the autograph reveals a slightly different picture of *Orpheus* from the one with which we are familiar, and it thus seems highly likely that the autograph was used during the first, operatic performance of the piece. To summarise, the overture differed from the symphonic poem in several ways, including the generally paired-back role of the harp and brass, the absence of the second harp part, and the use of the clarinet in C, which was used as

a harmony instrument. The opening and close of the piece were also somewhat different. The opening was rhythmically augmented and the scoring sparser (as it was also in several other passages), whilst the ending was eight bars shorter, included harp arpeggios, and again was even more restrained in terms of scoring. The harmonies and phrasing also betrayed a strong influence from the Classical style. Yet the overall form and melodic content was the same as that of the symphonic poem. The main differences appear to have arisen as a product of Liszt's attempt to smooth the transition between his and Gluck's music by partially imitating Gluck's use of the orchestra. Once the piece was taken out of this performance context, this was no longer necessary.

Yet, the extract of short score reveals a slightly different approach to the structure at a stage that predates the first complete autograph. In the published and autograph scores the reprise of the first subject in the tonic is naturally an important moment in the piece. But the short score shows that at an early stage the reprise did not feature. Instead bar 143 leads straight into the Lento section at bar 180 and the second subject beginning on a second inversion chord of B major.

Transcription 11: Short Score, bb. 137-143

This actually mimics the structure of the A section of the later symphonic poem. From bars 66-71 a chromatic sequence led into the second subject in E major. In the short score on its second appearance the sequence leads into the second subject again, but this time in B major, and then a very brief recapitulation of the first subject in C major (bar 194 in the published score), but we do not hear the theme in its entirety.

It seems, therefore, that it was initially Liszt's intention to avoid the triumphant reprise of the main theme that we find in many of the symphonic poems. By the time he composed *Orpheus*, he had negotiated a more flexible approach to form through the composition and revision of *Tasso*. In *Tasso* Liszt had decided to remove the traditional

recapitulation. Similarly, in *Orpheus* he initially did not compose a full reprise of the main theme, creating structural ambiguity. The very earliest version is perhaps best described as an asymmetrical binary form with a short coda re-establishing the tonic key. This coda arrives after a long period in E major and B major and many modulatory sections. The eventual incorporation of a reprise provided a stronger tonal anchor, a sense of formal return, and consequently greater structural clarity. But it perhaps also is evidence of a partial sacrifice of programmatic design in favour of a more “rounded” musical form.

Closing Music

We have seen that in several ways Liszt’s overture was carefully connected to Gluck’s opera, particularly to the opening chorus. He also decided to compose closing music closely based on the overture, providing a sense of thematic and tonal unity. The music is surprisingly substantial and runs to 91 bars on sixteen handwritten pages,⁵⁷ but it has mostly been ignored by Liszt scholars. It draws heavily on material from the Overture, for Liszt’s aim was to unify the opening and close of the work. As mentioned above, there is no part for harp and, as in the overture, the closing music is scored for a clarinet in C instead of a clarinet in A. Again, the clarinet in C is used mainly as a harmony instrument. It does also provide fullness to the texture by doubling some of the melodies, but it is not given any solos, unlike some of the other woodwind instruments.

The closing music begins with a reorchestrated version of bars 15-72 of the symphonic poem, but Liszt’s approach is now rather less restrained. The evocative tonal wanderings of the harp arpeggios of the very beginning are left out this time. Instead we hear the main theme straight away in C major in the horns. The accompanying texture is fuller than

⁵⁷ In Peter Raabe’s hand, as mentioned above, based on parts in the Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt. See Appendix A for a transcription of the closing music.

in both the autograph score and in the published symphonic poem. We hear timpani rolls. The strings, though first muted, are *arco* instead of *pizzicato* and the first and second violins double the majority of the opening theme, whereas they had *pizzicato* chords throughout much of the opening of the autograph and symphonic poem. By bar 18 (the equivalent of bar 32 in the symphonic poem) the main theme appears in the full orchestra.

The sequential idea (beginning at bar 38 in the symphonic poem) appears at bar 24 in the closing music. Again, the scoring is denser; instead of the sequence appearing solely in the first violin part it appears in the Flute, Oboe, Cor Anglais, and Clarinet in C. The other part of this sequence—the dotted rhythm in the horns (see bars 38-39 of the published score)—is doubled by the Trumpet throughout the section and also, on occasion, by the Timpani, again fitting with the generally stronger, imposing scoring of the whole movement from its very opening. Interestingly, the first violins have a completely new triplet figure from bars 23-57 (the equivalent of bars 37-71 in the published score). This figure at times also appears in the other string parts as well. (See the transcription in Appendix A.)

The scoring of this section bears a close resemblance to bar 130 in the autograph and symphonic poem. This is the point at which the sequential theme reappears in the tonic and leads into the reprise of the opening theme. As in the Closing Music, from bar 130 in the published score the melody is in the upper woodwinds instead of the first violins (albeit an octave lower) and the dotted theme in the horns is doubled by the trumpet. The violin triplets of the Closing Music could perhaps be interpreted as a much more embellished version of the triplets from bar 130. Equally the chromatic build up at the end of the section has something

in common with its appearance from bars 140-43 of the published score. Only the descending clarinet solos are missing from the Closing Music (and the harps, of course).⁵⁸

Thematically and structurally (although not texturally), the Closing Music corresponds fairly exactly to bars 15-71 of the symphonic poem. At bar 72 of the published score a new thematic idea is introduced: the second subject, and with it the key of E major (the mediant). At this point the Closing Music begins to depart from the symphonic poem. There is no new theme; instead the main theme is reiterated for full orchestra, much in the same way as it appears in the triumphant reprise at bar 144 in the symphonic poem, except that it appears here briefly on A major instead of in the tonic. Perhaps it only occurred to Liszt to include this reprise in the Overture and Symphonic Poem when he was writing the Closing Music. This may further account for its absence from the early short score above (Transcription 11).

From this point no further thematic ideas are introduced. Instead the piece begins to build towards a grand climax in the tonic C major. The reprise on A major quickly breaks off halfway through the second half of the main theme on a diminished 7th chord at bar 65, building the sense of anticipation. We then have the horns and trumpets on a unison A with a new fanfare-like theme. The main theme again attempts a reprise that is cut short on another diminished 7th chord at bar 69, but this time the fanfare leads into a rising sequence, which leads us back to the tonic and a triumphant ending. We can perhaps think of the closing music, therefore, as formed from bars 15-37 of the published score, followed by bars 130-152 with a new coda.

The ending of the closing music is very different from that in the symphonic poem, which was praised by Wagner precisely because Liszt held back from delivering the grand

⁵⁸ Furthermore, in the Closing Music, the sequential theme is repeated twice as it is on its first appearance in the published score, unlike on its second where it is only heard once.

apotheosis with which he was prone to end many of his pieces.⁵⁹ Whilst the symphonic poem ends with subtle ethereal chords, the last 34 bars of the Closing Music build up to the typically Lisztian dramatic finish. Liszt pulls out all the stops: we hear violin flourishes, brass fanfares, sustained tremolo upper strings whilst the lower strings have rising sequences based on the main theme, and then five bars of sustained C major chords for full orchestra. Perhaps, then, we can understand the closing music that Liszt composed for *Orphée* as the ‘missing’ apotheosis to the symphonic poem.

The style of the closing music suggests that Liszt felt that Gluck’s opera deserved a dramatic apotheosis in the tonic of C major that referred back to the opening. One reason for this may have been that Liszt was dissatisfied with Gluck’s ending, which includes two very long ballets in several movements. These were additions to the French version to suit Parisian tastes of the time.⁶⁰ A recitative, during which Amor returns Eurydice to Orpheus, is followed by a chorus (*L’amour triomphe*) in A major. Then we have the first two ballets in A major then C major. After this a trio for Orpheus, Eurydice and Amor in E major is followed by another ballet in D major.⁶¹ This clearly was a very protracted close with a disproportionate amount of music following the final action of the plot. It can be assumed that Liszt cut at least some of it, if not all, as is the case in many performances today.

It is likely that the embarrassment that was Weimar’s ballet further motivated Liszt to cut Gluck’s finale and instead insert his own music. Richard Pohl observed the poor state of the Weimar ballet on a visit to the town:

⁵⁹ As is well known, Liszt tended to prefer triumphant, ostentatious endings. We have seen that he avoided the tragic ending dictated by Goethe’s play when writing his symphonic poem *Tasso* by adding a ‘Trionfo’ section to depict the poet Tasso ‘shining after death’ (see the preface to *Tasso*). Wagner blamed the Princess for Liszt’s ‘apotheosis mania’ and it is well known that he disliked her. He complained in his memoirs that Liszt ignored his advice against musical overkill, and consequently ruined the ending of the *Dante Symphony* and the *Faust Symphony*. See Wagner, *My Life*, 538.

⁶⁰ Patricia Howard, ‘Orfeo and Orphée’, *The Musical Times*, Vol. 108, No. 1496 (1967), 892.

⁶¹ See Patricia Howard, ‘Orfeo and Orphée’, 892-895 for an overview of the movements in both versions of *Orfeo* and an investigation of the main differences between the two versions.

But a shameful part of the Weimar opera is the Ballet...Regarding the three nymphs of dubious age and still more dubious ability, who for example gambol around in the Venusberg, let me, in place of all criticism, only express the wish that they would disappear.⁶²

With the addition of Liszt's own closing music, the ballets would have been superfluous, but he would surely have retained either the chorus 'L'amour triomphe' or the trio to allow the protagonists to celebrate the happy ending of their story. Given the key scheme, it seems plausible that Liszt may have wanted to reflect the relationship he had created between the tonic and the mediant in the Overture by placing his closing music in C major after the trio in E major.

Conclusion

Today, the dramatic origins of the early symphonic poems are largely forgotten. Yet, knowledge of this context reveals that *Orpheus* was deliberately linked in many ways to Gluck's opera. Gluck influenced Liszt's choices regarding key, tempo, instrumentation, texture, melodic writing, programmatic approach and style. Later, when the piece was performed out of this context, some of these aspects, particularly the instrumentation, were revised because it was no longer necessary to unite the piece with Gluck's opening chorus.

Nonetheless, there are few substantial differences between the first complete autograph (which it seems was the likely basis of the overture) and the symphonic poem. In terms of both form and content, both the autograph or overture and published symphonic poem are largely identical. No "ideological" difference in Liszt's treatment of the two genres is apparent.

It does not seem to be the case, then, that Liszt conceived of *Orpheus* as an overture and then 'turned it into' a symphonic poem. Significantly, his series of symphonic poems was

⁶² My translation of: 'Eine partie honteuse der Weimarer Oper ist aber das Ballet...Gegen die drei Nymphen von zweifelhaftem Alter und noch zweifelhafteren Fähigkeiten, welche z. B. im Venusberg herumspringen, ließe sich statt aller Kritik, nur der Wunsch aussprechen, daß sie—verschwinden möchten.' Richard Pohl, 'Reisebriefe aus Thüringen III' in *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 1, 1 July 1854.

already well under way at this point. Shortly after the *Orpheus* premiere, *Les Préludes* was premiered in a court concert on 23 February 1854 and advertised as a symphonic poem—it appears on the playbill for the performance.⁶³ Until now it has generally been thought that the first public use of the term ‘Symphonic Poem’ was for the premiere of *Tasso* in its symphonic poem version, which took place on 19 April 1854.⁶⁴ *Les Préludes*, then, and not *Tasso*, was the first ‘official’ symphonic poem. This early use of the term suggests that plans for the series were well advanced by the time Liszt premiered *Orpheus*. He probably had in mind a dual purpose for this work from the very beginning.

The examination of the *Tasso* manuscripts revealed that Liszt’s revisions from overture to symphonic poem involved his negotiating a more flexible approach to form than that traditionally associated with the overture. Indeed, Liszt wanted his symphonic poems to be perceived as something new. The ‘Overture’ carried with it too many established expectations. It suggested a particular symphonic form that was too rigid for the type of programme music Liszt wished to create. Liszt, therefore, had already begun to adopt a more flexible attitude to form by the time he came to compose *Orpheus*. And this explains the formal innovations that were already present at the ‘overture’ stage.

In fact, we might argue that the main difference between the overture and symphonic poem versions of this work lay in the way in which Liszt intended audiences to receive them. This was largely dependent on the performance context. Literary theorists have frequently claimed that presenting the same text in a different context can give it a different function:⁶⁵

⁶³ See http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/receive/ThHStAW_archivesource_00016505?jumpback=true&maximized=true&page=/009298.tif&derivate=ThHStAW_derivate_00044706 [accessed 15/08/2012]

⁶⁴ See Kenneth Hamilton, ‘Liszt’ in, *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony* D. Kern Holoman (ed.) (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 144.

⁶⁵ John Frow, *Genre* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 46.

the “point” of a story may vary when recounted in different situations.⁶⁶ The transferral of largely the same piece from the stage to the concert hall meant that *Orpheus* was no longer a supportive element in a wider dramatic production, but became a statement of Liszt’s personal reaction to the subject. Accordingly, it was only at a very late stage that Liszt added the ethereal ending, drawing on Pierre Simon Ballanche’s *Orphée*, and symbolising a broader response to the Orpheus myth. What sets the symphonic poem apart from the overture is that the role of the composer is privileged. This is emphasised through the preface in which, for the first time, we become privy to the composer’s voice and views (including a short section which seems to allude to Ballanche’s work⁶⁷). The point of the piece in the context of the concert hall is to reveal to us Liszt’s responses to the figure of *Orpheus*. The point of it on the stage is to prepare us for Gluck’s opera.

Yet, Liszt himself admitted in the preface that he began to compose the symphonic poem after rehearsing Gluck’s *Orpheus* (though, significantly, he does not mention that it was initially composed or performed as an overture).⁶⁸ Therefore, although *Orpheus* as a symphonic poem reveals Liszt’s personal responses, he still suggests that his experience conducting the opera inspired the symphonic poem in some way, encouraging the listener to connect the two. Literary theorists have found that certain genres refer to others and, in doing so, imitate the effects they produce.⁶⁹ The title ‘symphonic poem’ suggests symphonic logic and unity, coupled with a heightened emphasis on extra-musical content. We are perhaps expected to refer to traditional musical structures to guide our listening, but also to genres associated with the subject matter. In this case Gluck’s *Orpheus* provides an important point

⁶⁶ Ibid., 115

⁶⁷ Reeves Shulstad connects the ‘ennobling’, ‘civilising’ effect of Orpheus’s music that Liszt describes in his preface to the Orpheus portrayed in Pierre Simon Ballanche’s *Orphée* (1829). See Shulstad, ‘Liszt’s symphonic poems and symphonies’, 208.

⁶⁸ See Liszt, Preface to ‘Orpheus’, v.

⁶⁹ Frow, *Genre*, 48.

of reference. Indeed, knowledge of the original performance context of *Orpheus* affects the way one hears and understands the symphonic poem. We hear references to song writing in the contour and structure of the melodies, and in the interplay between solo lines and orchestra. The paratactic approach also makes sense with reference to song-writing and lyric poetry. And we can also imagine Gluck's dramatic tableaux working in conjunction with the images Liszt provides in his preface as the work moves from section to section. In this way, generic and stylistic signifiers provide an important way to interpret form and programme in this piece. Indeed, we will see that generic and stylistic borrowings gradually became a key feature of the symphonic poem.

Overall, Gluck's opera provided Liszt with a fruitful starting point for a musico-dramatic work. He did not compose a new opera for the birthday of Maria Paulowna, but he did update an old one. Having found Gluck's own overture inappropriate he composed a replacement. And he was also motivated to write an apotheosis to the entire opera, uniting the beginning and the end in a grand recapitulation of his main theme. Liszt's additions brought Gluck's opera into the nineteenth century; the unifying nature of the Overture and Closing Music partly turned *Orpheus* into a Romantic opera—a replacement for the one that Liszt never wrote.

Chapter Four: *Festklänge* and Weimar's Festival Culture

Festklänge is one of Liszt's least performed symphonic poems. Equally, it has received little scholarly attention. Yet, the piece itself and the circumstances of its composition throw up many intriguing questions. Its very inclusion within the series of symphonic poems seems rather unusual. Unlike *Hamlet*, *Mazeppa*, *Tasso*, *Orpheus*, and *Prometheus* it is not associated with a character from myth, literature or life. Unlike *Les Préludes*, *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne*, *Mazeppa*, and *Die Ideale* it is not based (even retrospectively) on a poem. It was not inspired by a work of art like *Hunnenschlacht* and Liszt did not publish a preface alongside it. Other symphonic poems released without a preface, such as *Hamlet* for example, contain instructions to the performers including *eerily*, *ironic*, and *stormily* that are all connected to the programme. And of course, the entire play can to some extent be considered the "programme". *Festklänge* contains no programmatic markings of any sort. Yet, paradoxically, it was one of the first to be publically associated with the title 'symphonic poem' (see the playbill in Figure 1 below).

In fact, the 'programme' of this unusual symphonic poem appears entirely in the form of its vague title: *Festival Sounds*, which replaced the rather pedestrian *Festival Overture* that appeared on early drafts of the work. Equally, of all the symphonic poems *Festklänge* is arguably most clearly in open dialogue with sonata form. The apparently non-existent programme coupled with the traditional structure suggests that the work is most akin to the *Festival Overture* of its original title.

In the absence of any 'official programme', one legend has endured—that the piece was written 'in anticipation of the celebration of Liszt's marriage with Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein'.¹ Usually this interpretation is unquestioningly repeated wherever *Festklänge* appears in Liszt literature. The actual circumstances of the premiere of the work are hardly

¹ Humphrey Searle, *The Music of Liszt*, (2nd edn, New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 73.

ever mentioned. Yet, this chapter will show that this piece, apparently the most non-programmatic of all the symphonic poems, had a dramatic function at its premiere: it was effectively an “entr’acte” sandwiched between two one-act presentations, Schiller’s *Die Huldigung der Künste* and Rubinstein’s *Die sibirischen Jäger*, in a festival performance given in celebration of the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna’s 50th jubilee.

This chapter will begin by debunking the myth of the ‘marriage’ programme, before putting forward the initial compositional and performance context as a more convincing reason for the lack of programme in *Festklänge*. To this end it will examine firstly, the influence of Weimar’s festival culture on this piece and secondly, the function of the work within the festival programme, considering Liszt’s reasons behind his programming choices. It will then conduct a detailed examination of the *Festival Overture* score, discussing the revisions that Liszt made. Based on generic signifiers and formal analysis, it will show that the earlier score is more typical of a Festival Overture, as the original title and performance context of the premiere suggest, than a Symphonic Poem. Once again, it appears that *Festklänge* was intimately related to Liszt’s role as Kapellmeister in Weimar, and in particular, to Weimar’s festival culture.

Hochzeitsmusik

The story that *Festklänge* is somehow related to the anticipated marriage of Liszt and Princess Wittgenstein is one that is consistently repeated in contemporary Liszt literature.² The story also infiltrates some writers’ analyses of the work. Keith T. Johns’s brief examination of *Festklänge* emphasises those elements that he believed are related to this programme. For Johns, the opening fanfare figures represented the wedding festivities of

² In addition to the reference in Searle’s *The Music of Liszt*, cited above, Derek Watson writes that ‘*Festklänge*...appeared without any programmatic preface but is associated with the (never solemnised) union of Liszt and Princess Carolyne.’ See Derek Watson, *Liszt* (The Master Musicians, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 267. Similarly, in Alan Walker’s comparative table of Liszt’s orchestral output during the Weimar period Walker writes: ‘*Festklänge* (intended for Liszt’s forthcoming nuptials with Princess Carolyne)’, Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt Vol. 2: The Weimar Years* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1989), 302.

Liszt and Carolyne, whilst he found Liszt's love for the Princess in the recurring cantilena motif, and suggested that the Polonaise sections referred to the Princess's Polish background.³ It is indeed likely that the 'Polonaise' rhythms of the themes from bb. 208 to 222 were intended to refer to the Princess and her Polish nationality,⁴ but it is quite a stretch to suggest that the piece as a whole was written in celebration of their forthcoming wedding.

The case for this 'wedding music' programme seems to be based merely on a few comments made by Liszt's contemporaries. There are two sources from around the time of composition that suggest that *Festklänge's* programme was Liszt's love for the Princess. One of these occurs in an article written by Richard Pohl on Liszt's music. With regard to *Festklänge* Pohl writes,

This work is the most intimate, subjective of the whole group. It stands in the context of the personal experiences of the composer, which we do not want to hint at more closely here. For this reason Liszt did not attach any explanations and we must respect his silence. The mood of this work is 'festive': it is the festival after a victory—of the heart.⁵

The other reference appears in a diary entry made by Peter Cornelius after having attended the premiere of *Festklänge*. Cornelius confessed that he was unconvinced by the work and 'when I was asked at the Altenburg, I expressed this doubt in a very unassuming way. The Princess said only 'If you knew how I love the piece!!'⁶ Cornelius then continued to complain that the Princess's opinions were based on superficialities, in spite of her education. He wrote nothing of the marriage, apparently believing that the reasons for the Princess's admiration for the piece were based solely on her blind love for Liszt. The Princess's comments do hint at a particular reason, seemingly unknown to Cornelius, for her

³ Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997), 82.

⁴ Lina Ramann believed that this was true, but once again she does not cite the source of her information. See Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894), 309.

⁵ Richard Pohl, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* Vol. 2: Franz Liszt: Studien und Erinnerungen (Leipzig: Verlag von Bernhard Schlicke, 1883), 175. My translation of 'Dieses Werk ist das intimste, subjektivste der ganzen Gruppe. Es steht im Zusammenhange mit persönlichen Erlebnissen des Komponisten, die wir hier nicht näher andeuten wollen. Deshalb fügte Liszt auch keine Erläuterungen bei, und wir müssen sein Schweigen respektieren. "Festlich" ist die Stimmung dieses Werkes: es ist das Fest nach einem errungenen Siege – des Herzens.'

⁶ Peter Cornelius, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnfeld Verlag, 1938), 163.

partiality for the piece. Yet, she may only have meant that it was inspired by Liszt's love for her, rather than that it was written in anticipation of their marriage.

This is also suggested in a letter from Liszt to the Princess written several years later on 31 August 1864.⁷ After attending a performance of *Festklänge* Liszt wrote: 'Hearing this latter work once again, I remembered Carlsbad, where it was written, and your exclamation: "There I am!"'⁸ This certainly suggests that the music was inspired by, or was intended to depict the Princess somehow. The letter does not suggest anything about their thwarted wedding, however. Admittedly this could simply be because it was written three years after the event, and the issue was still a sensitive one.

The work only began to be described as 'Hochzeitsmusik' in the 1870s. Lina Ramann, for example, gave the story some credence, but she did not begin work on her biography, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, until 1874, and, significantly, received much of her information (particularly about the thwarted wedding⁹) from Princess Wittgenstein. In the section on the symphonic poems she wrote that it was conspicuous at the time that Liszt provided no preface for *Festklänge* (although the work is by no means exceptional in this regard—*Hungaria*, for example, also appeared without a preface; its programme as a depiction of Liszt's Hungarian national pride was perhaps deemed so obvious as to not require one). Ramann also revealed that Liszt maintained a silence about it even among close friends, and remembered that she heard Brendel say that *Festklänge* 'is a Sphinx which cannot be interpreted.'¹⁰

⁷ Peter Raabe, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2: Liszt's Schaffen (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968), 300.

⁸ Adrian Williams (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 613. Translation of: 'En réentendant ce dernier morceau, je me suis souvenu de Carlsbad, où il a été écrit, et de la votre exclamation : « Me voilà ! »' in La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe* Vol. 6 of 8 (Leipzig, 1893-1905), 37. (Letter 53 to the Princess) La Mara dates the letter 30 August 1864.

⁹ In a diary entry reproduced in *Lisztiana*, Ramann recalls how the Princess actually took her to the church where she and Liszt had arranged to be married. See Lina Ramann, *Lisztiana* (Mainz: Schott, 1983), 89-90.

¹⁰ Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2, 309.

Ramann went on to say that in general it was believed that the piece was written for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of his patron and friend, Maria Paulowna, in Weimar, but that in fact Liszt referred to it as his ‘Hochzeitsmusik’, and that it was written in the summer of 1851 in Eilsen, when it seemed likely that constraints against the marriage of Liszt and Princess Wittgenstein would soon be overcome.¹¹ She believed that *Festklänge* was written as a ‘song of triumph’ against the ‘hostile machinations’ that had conspired against them.¹² However, Ramann evidently mistook the place and date of composition. An early score (GSA 60/A7d), believed to be the first draft of the work still in existence, held at the Goethe and Schiller Archive and entitled *Fest-Ouverture*, contains the annotation ‘Karlsbad 11 August’. Liszt and the Princess took a holiday to Karlsbad in the summer of 1853¹³ and Liszt himself also referred to writing the piece in Karlsbad in the letter to Carolyne written on 31 August 1864 cited above,¹⁴ so we can be fairly certain that Ramann was mistaken in this regard, and so perhaps also in other matters.

Despite Ramann’s shaky account, the Hochzeitsmusik story did also appear from a more convincing source. August Göllerich wrote that ‘Liszt meant with *Festklänge* (composed in Karlsbad) to compose his and the Princess’s “ideal wedding music.”’¹⁵ Göllerich expands no further on this and provides no references, but, significantly, he lived alongside Liszt through his later years and would have heard the story long after the failed marriage attempt. He was also taken into the master’s confidence; towards the beginning of his book, he writes: ‘Sämtliche Mitteilungen zwischen zwei Anführungsstrichen sind

¹¹ Ibid., 309

¹² Ibid., 309.

¹³ See Williams (ed.), *Selected Letters*, 337.

¹⁴ La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 6, 37.

¹⁵ August Göllerich, *Franz Liszt* (Berlin: Marquardt & Co., 1908), 61. My translation of: ‘Liszt meinte mit den in Karlsbad entstandenen ‘Festklängen’ seine und der Fürstin ‘ideale Hochzeitsmusik’ zu komponieren.’

Äußerungen Liszts.’ [All statements between two quotation marks are made by Liszt.]¹⁶
‘Ideale Hochzeitsmusik’ does appear in quotation marks.

Perhaps the ‘Hochzeitsmusik’ story only began to circulate in the 1870s because enough time had passed to make the issue less sensitive. Yet, there may be another reason. It is generally assumed that at the time of composition, Liszt and Carolyne had received some good news regarding Carolyne’s divorce from her husband Prince Nicholas von Sayn-Wittgenstein. It might be expected, then, that this important news would be easily found in Liszt biographies. Alan Walker has completed an extensive study of the circumstances of Carolyne’s difficult and protracted divorce in his book, *Liszt, Carolyne, and the Vatican: the Story of a Thwarted Marriage*.¹⁷ The story is long and complicated with many changes of fortune, and so only the part that refers to the years around the time of the composition of *Festklänge* will be related here.

Walker tells us that on 13 November 1852 the Consistory of Mohilow declared the Sayn-Wittgenstein marriage null and void.¹⁸ Accordingly, Carolyne and Prince Nicholas began to work out the settlement of property. Unfortunately, however, this declaration was not sanctioned by the Metropolitan Archbishop of St. Petersburg, Ignaz Holowinski, which would eventually lead to its complete retraction. There is nothing to suggest that Carolyne and Liszt began to plan for their wedding at this time. Afterwards the situation worsened again—in January 1853 the Tsar’s emissary (Prince Peter von Oldenburg) arrived in Weimar with ‘orders to arrest Carolyne for non-compliance with the property settlement and to return her and the Princess Marie to Russia.’¹⁹ Carolyne fled to Paris and begged Napoleon III to

¹⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹⁷ Alan Walker, *Liszt, Carolyne, and the Vatican: the Story of a Thwarted Marriage* ed. and trans. Gabriele Erasmi (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991).

¹⁸ Ibid., xii. This is also corroborated by Donna M. Di Grazia in her article, ‘Liszt and Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein: New Documents on the Wedding that Wasn’t’, *19th-Century Music* Vol. 12, no. 2 (1988), 152.

¹⁹ Walker, *Liszt, Carolyne, and the Vatican*, xii.

take her and her daughter into his protection.²⁰ Walker offers no further details about the year 1853, and the situation seems to have further deteriorated in 1854-55 when Carolyne was stripped of her citizenship, condemned to exile and her lands and estates sequestered.²¹ There seems little foundation, therefore, for the widely-repeated idea that it seemed likely in the summer of 1853 that Carolyne and Liszt would soon marry.

The only time that Liszt and Carolyne did actually plan to marry was several years after *Festklänge* was published; the date was set for 22 October 1861—Liszt's 50th birthday. The couple actually got so far as to decorate the church but a papal emissary arrived the night before the wedding to prevent it.²² Marriage prospects had started to look much more hopeful from February 1860 when the case was heard once more. It was found that Carolyne should have permission to marry again. In May that year Carolyne went to Rome to hurry the process along, and in September the Pope issued no objections to the decision taken in February. The formal process required one more affirmative ruling from another consistory of three judges before the couple could marry. In October 1860 Liszt also went to Rome to assist the cause. The second consistory met in December and finally granted their approval on 7 January 1861.²³

From February 1860 onwards Liszt must have realised that it was finally becoming likely that he and Carolyne would marry. It seems that this was also reported in the press, for Liszt wrote to Princess Marie Wittgenstein on 27 May 1860 that 'Several papers are announcing, that, according to *Signale [für die musikalische Welt*²⁴], my marriage blessing

²⁰ Ibid., xii.

²¹ Ibid., xii.

²² Carolyne's version of the full story of the cancelled marriage as she related it to Lina Ramann is given in Lina Ramann, *Lisztiana*, 89-90.

²³ See Donna M. Di Grazia, 'Liszt and Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein: New Documents on the Wedding that Wasn't', 150-7 for details.

²⁴ This was a periodical that regularly reported on the activities of the New German School.

will be performed by His Eminence the Bishop of Fulda.’²⁵ When Carolyne left for Rome in May 1860, Liszt expressed his confidence that their marriage would soon be permitted in a letter to Agnes Street-Klindworth,

The princess left for Rome about ten days ago. The major purpose of her life and heart has finally met with the just and favourable decision which it would have received *ten years* earlier, but for the shabby scheming of a family whose cupidity and relentlessness are equally shameful...What will ensue depends on certain proprieties which it will not be advisable to offend or to neglect now.²⁶

The Princess was so confident that from May onwards she began to sign her letters to Liszt ‘ta fiancée’.²⁷

Significantly, it was from precisely this time that Liszt decided to return to the score that had been partly inspired by his bride-to-be; he completed ‘variants’ to it in the summer of 1860, writing again to Marie on 4 June, ‘It’s been impossible for me to start a new job these last few days—but I am bringing to Härtel *Hamlet*, *Hunnenschlacht*, and the *Festklänge Variants* (with the whole ‘middle section’ in polonaise rhythm), which I have revised and corrected and expanded thoroughly.’ Liszt closed the letter by writing, ‘I hope Minette [Carolyne] will get on well during her stay in Rome, and that God will grant her a few years of peace and serenity after so many trials and tribulations. Let us pray that it may be so!’²⁸ He had also written to Breitkopf & Härtel the day before, requesting that the *Festklänge Variants* come out at the same time as the rest of the symphonic poems (he hoped they could be

²⁵ Pauline Pocknell, Malou Haine, Nicolas Dufetel (eds), *Lettres de Franz Liszt À la Princesse Marie de Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst Née de Sayn-Wittgenstein* (Paris: Vrin, 2010), 187 (Letter 71, 27 May 1860). My translation of ‘Plusieurs journaux annoncent d’après les *Signale* (!) que la bénédiction nuptiale de mon mariage sera accomplie par Monseigneur l’évêque de Fulda.’

²⁶ Pauline Pocknell, *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: a Correspondence, 1854-1886* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2000), 166 (Letter 88, 28 May 1860).

²⁷ Walker, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 537.

²⁸ Pocknell, Haine, Dufetel (eds), *Lettres de Franz Liszt À la Princesse Marie*, 194-5 (Letter 74, 4 June 1860). My translation of: ‘Il m’a été impossible de commencer un nouveau travail ces jours derniers—mais j’apporte à Härtel *Hamlet*, la *Hunnenschlacht*, et les Variantes des *Festklänge* (avec tout le « Mittelsatz » en rythme de Polonaise) que j’ai revu et corrigé et augmenté avec minutie.’ and ‘J’espère que Minette se trouvera bien de son séjour à Rome, et que Dieu lui accordera, après tant d’épreuves et de tribulations, quelques années de paix et de sérénité. Prions qu’il en soit ainsi!’

published by October 1860, although in the end they did not appear until autumn of the following year).²⁹

Tellingly, the variants Liszt composed heavily emphasize Polish stylistic elements. The first variant provided a reworked second subject. The basic thematic and harmonic material remained, but the entire section was rewritten in polonaise rhythm. A polonaise character dominates the 1861 ‘variant’ version—it was now fitting that it should become a major feature—whereas its presence is minimal in the original symphonic poem. In fact, we shall see that part of the Polonaise theme (from bb. 215-222) was actually missing from the first (GSA 60/A7d) and second (GSA 60/A7a) drafts. All of this suggests that it was only *Festklänge* in its variant form that was Liszt’s intended ‘Hochzeitsmusik’.

If the impetus behind the work’s conception was not the composer’s forthcoming nuptials, the performance context of the premiere may provide a more likely source. Liszt’s original title, *Festival Overture*, immediately suggests some connection between the piece and his work as Kapellmeister within Weimar’s festival culture. Festival overtures were commonly requested of Kapellmeisters, and Liszt wrote a variety of overtures, marches, and processional pieces in fulfilment of his role.³⁰ Indeed, *Festklänge* was first performed on 9 November 1854 alongside Schiller’s *Die Huldigung der Künste* and Rubinstein’s *Die sibirischen Jäger* as part of the festival celebrating the 50th anniversary of Maria Paulowna’s arrival in Weimar. It is likely, therefore, that the piece was written with Maria Paulowna’s jubilee in mind. Liszt must have anticipated that he would be required to compose something for this event. The jubilee was celebrated from February (with Maria Paulowna’s birthday, for which Liszt, of course, had conducted Gluck’s *Orpheus* with his own overture and closing music) until November—jubilees of the royal family were generally liberally celebrated over

²⁹ See Oskar von Hase, *Breitkopf & Härtel Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht* Vol. 2: 1828 bis 1918 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919), 169.

³⁰ See Chapter One, Table One for details of these compositions.

a long period.³¹ This likely explains why Liszt did not attach a preface to the score; there simply was no programme, aside from a general sense of celebration and a private reference to Carolyne.

Overall, therefore, there are several factors that make it highly improbable that *Festklänge* was initially intended as wedding music. These include its original title, performance circumstances, its length, the couple's situation in 1853 and the fact that there is only a glancing reference to Carolyne's Polish background in the original symphonic poem. Yet, he obviously associated the piece somehow with Carolyne and returned to it when they were about to marry. He then composed Variants that shortened it significantly and included a large rewritten section in polonaise rhythm. The premiere of the work will now be considered in order to examine how the piece's function within Weimar's festival culture influenced the conception, form, and style of *Festklänge*.

³¹ Detlef Jena, *Maria Pawlowna: Großherzogin an Weimars Musenhof* (Graz; Vienna; Cologne: Verlag Styria, 1999), 324.

Figure 1: Playbill from the Premiere of *Festklänge*

Anfang dieser Vorstellung um 7 Uhr.

Hof-Theater.

Weimar, Donnerstag den 9. November 1854.
Zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Jahrestags des Einzugs
Ihrer Kaiserlichen Hoheit
der
Frau Großherzogin-Großfürstin
MARIA PAULOWNA.

Prolog.

Der Morgenstern, Fr. Don-Lebrun.

Die Guldigung der Künste.

Von Fr. von Schiller.

Der Vater,	Fr. Genast.
Die Mutter,	Fr. Seidel.
Der Jüngling,	Fr. Vorth.
Das Mädchen,	Fr. Heller.
Landleute.	
Der Genius,	Fr. Grans.
Architektur,	Fr. Beck.
Sculptur,	Fr. Wolf.
Malerei,	Fr. Meyel.
Poesie,	Fr. Stör.
Musik,	Fr. Wilde.
Tanz,	Fr. Hettstedt.
Schauspielkunst,	Fr. Döllinger.

Epilog.

Die Musik ist von Hrn. Musik-Direktor Stör.

Fest-Klänge.

Symphonische Dichtung von Hrn. Hof-Kapellmeister Dr. Franz Liszt.

Hierauf zum Erstenmale:

Die sibirischen Jäger.

Oper in einem Akt, von Jerebheff, nach einer russischen Volkslage, deutsch von Cornelius. Musik von A. Rubinstein.

Semion, ein sibirischer Jäger,	Fr. Wilde.
Tania, seine Tochter,	Fr. Wilde.
Iwan, ihr Verlobter,	Fr. Knopp.
Fedor, } sibirische Jäger,	Fr. Beck.
Udaly, }	Fr. Hermanns.
Die Schneefrau,	Fr. Beck.
Sibirische Jäger. Schneefrauen.	

Die Handlung spielt in Sibirien, theils in der Hütte Semion's, theils in einer Schneekeppe.

Die neuen Dekorationen sind von Hrn. Hof-Theatermaler Händel.

Sechste Vorstellung im Dritten Abonnement.

Die Preise der Plätze sind bekannt. Anfang um 7 Uhr. Ende nach 9 Uhr.

Das Theater wird um 6 Uhr geöffnet. Die freien Entrées sind erst um 7 Uhr gültig.

The Role of Music in Weimar's Festival Culture

Whether it was to be *Festival Overture* or *Festival Sounds*, the title of the symphonic poem clearly refers to a relationship to an unnamed celebration. It has already been established that many festivals were celebrated in Weimar during the period Liszt spent there, but the jubilee would have been the next one on the horizon at the time of composition. The Overture manuscript (GSA 60/A7d) also provides further clues that Liszt considered plans for the jubilee whilst working on this piece: a first sketch of the opening bars of *Orpheus* appears in Liszt's hand at the end of the manuscript. Of course, we have already seen that *Orpheus* would be performed the following year as an overture to Gluck's opera, scheduled for Maria Paulowna's birthday. He was, therefore, working on the two of his pieces that would be associated with the jubilee celebrations. The other work that occupied Liszt's attention that summer was his *Huldigungsmarsch*, composed for the coronation of Carl Alexander. Clearly Liszt's thoughts were turned to his Weimar obligations at this time, and with a renewed enthusiasm. He was hopeful that the coronation of Carl Alexander would bring about stronger support for his artistic ambitions in Weimar.³²

Festivals in Weimar were an extremely important time within the court theatre's year, and were generally celebrated over a period of two or three days. They were used to mark significant dates within the court's calendar. These included anniversaries of the aristocracy and of Weimar's cultural greats. Goethe and Schiller were, of course, the pride of Weimar and anniversaries associated with them were afforded much recognition. The town also celebrated anniversaries of Herder. These events, though important, were not on the scale of the Goethe and Schiller celebrations.

³² In a letter of 22 July 1853 Liszt wrote to Princess Carolyne, 'We'll talk of my hopes for the new reign. The date of 28 August [the date of the coronation and Goethe's birthday] is auspicious—and I am confident that the Prince will hold fast to his excellent intentions.' See Williams (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters*, 350-51 (Letter 296).

Copious planning went into all festivals. A committee was usually set up, which would produce extensive documents detailing the numerous presentations, speeches, processions, performances and banquets involved.³³ Weimar's festivals generally saw a theatre production on one day (with some musical accompaniment), and a separate concert on another, often involving several of Liszt's works. Sometimes a new opera would also be performed (as on the occasion of the 1850 Herder festival when the premiere of *Lohengrin* was given on 28 August). For the September 1857 festival given in honour of the unveiling of the Goethe and Schiller monument, Liszt gave a concert of his works on 5 September, whilst the previous evening had seen a selection of excerpts from the plays of Goethe and Schiller given by several guest performers. Music is listed for one of these performances: Carl Stör's music to Schiller's *Die Glocke*. A copy of this is held at the British Library, and it gives a good impression of the role of the music in such productions. A substantial overture presents several of the main themes from the rest of the music to follow, which is divided into a series of numbers. The length of these numbers varies significantly. Sometimes there may be only a short melodic interjection amongst the text (as in No. 1, which is a mere four bars in length). The text is printed in the score—sometimes before or after a piece of music, suggesting that on these occasions the text should be recited without accompaniment. On other occasions the score suggests that music alone should sound or that parts of the recitation should be accompanied by music.

The theatre generally required some music for their festival productions. Chapter Two has shown that Liszt provided music for the 1849 Goethe Festival (however reluctantly). He also provided music for the 1850 Herder Festival³⁴ and for the 1859 festival in honour of the

³³ The Goethe and Schiller Archive in Weimar, for example, holds an 8-page document (GSA 59/241) on the September 1857 festival put on for the unveiling of the Goethe and Schiller monument. It provides a highly detailed itinerary for this event, even going so far as to clarify the order in which the various participants in the processions should assemble.

³⁴ As with *Tasso*, Liszt also expressed some reluctance about the Herder Festival commission. See Paul Bertagnolli, 'From overture to symphonic poem, from melodrama to choral cantata: Studies of the sources for

centenary of Schiller's birth. For this occasion he composed incidental music to Friedrich Halm's Festival Play, *Vor hundert Jahren*. This involved an overture and closing music, several melodramas, as well as curtain raisers and music accompanying tableaux and covering scene changes. Liszt's involvement in Weimar's festivals often, then, involved the composition of new music that would be used in a dramatic context, and the 1854 jubilee celebrations were no different.

Adelheid von Schorn's reminiscence reveals the shape of the festival programme:

In the evening of the 9 November there was the celebratory theatre production. Her Highness needed much persuasion to attend. As the beloved Princess appeared in the royal box, it was once again like a family celebration, the rejoicing, the clapping and cheering did not want to end. Adolf Schoell had composed the prologue 'the morning star' and in it gave expression to all our gratitude and love. Frau Don Lebrun recited the prologue with deep feeling and here that often misused phrase applies: no eye stayed dry. 'Homage of the Arts', which Schiller had written 50 years earlier for the arrival of the young couple, followed the prologue. The music to it was put together by Stör from compositions by the Grand Duchess. Festklänge, symphonic poem by Liszt and the one act opera 'the Siberian Hunters' by Rubinstein, whose text Peter Cornelius had translated from the Russian, followed the epilogue by Schoell. The Grand Duchess forbade the planned illumination and gave the money to the poor. It established a foundation for the infirm elderly.³⁵

The drama that opened the evening, entitled *Die Huldigung der Künste*, had been written by Schiller in 1804 specifically for the purpose of welcoming Maria Paulowna to Weimar, and the narrative draws heavily on the occasion for which it was written. The play opens with a rural scene. Peasants are decorating a tree. They begin to dance, and the stage directions show that they should be accompanied by the orchestra. The music gradually 'passes over into a grander style' and in the background 'Genius is seen descending with the

Franz Liszt's "Prometheus" and his "Chore zu Herder's 'Entfesseltem Prometheus'", Ph.D. diss. (Washington University, 1998), 30.

³⁵ 'Am Abend des 9. November war das Festtheater. Es hatte vieler Bitten bedurft, um die Hoheit zum Besuch desselben zu bewegen. Als die geliebte Fürstin in der Loge erschien, war es wieder einmal wie ein Familienfest, der Jubel, das Händeklatschen und Hochrufen wollte kein Ende nehmen. Adolf Schöll hatte den Prolog „Der Morgenstern“ gedichtet und darin aller Dankbarkeit und Liebe Ausdruck gegeben. Frau Don Lebrun sprach ihn mit tiefer Empfindung und hier paßte das oft mißbrauchte Wort: es blieb kein Auge trocken. – Dem Prolog folgte „Die Huldigung der Künste“, die Schiller vor 50 Jahren für den Einzug des jungen Paares geschrieben hatte. Die Musik dazu war aus den Kompositionen der Großfürstin von Stör zusammengesetzt worden. Dem Epilog von Schöll folgten die „Festklänge“, symphonische Dichtung von Liszt und die einaktige Oper „Die sibirischen Jäger“ von Anton Rubinstein, deren Text Peter Cornelius aus dem Russischen übersetzt hatte. Die geplante Illumination hatte sich die Großfürstin verboten und das Geld für die Armen bestimmt. Es wurde eine Stiftung für gebrechliche alte Männer davon errichtet', in Adelheid von Schorn, *Das nachklassische Weimar unter der Regierungszeit Karl Friedrichs und Maria Paulownas* Vol. 1 (Weimar, 1911-12), 310.

Seven Goddesses,³⁶ representing the seven arts: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, Music, Dance, and Drama.³⁷ The peasants tell the Genius that they are decorating the tree in preparation for the arrival of their new Princess. We must assume that the queen represents Maria Paulowna, and there are some parallels between the two, for we are told that

Ah! from distant climes she's come,
And her heart is thither yearning,
Evermore, in dream, returning;
But we would not gladly let her,—
Fancy's foot we fain would fetter,
Till she owns her second home.³⁸

Like the Russian Maria Paulowna, the Princess in the play is far from home and the peasants are anxious that she will be homesick. Drawing upon Maria Paulowna's known appreciation of the arts, Schiller proposes a solution. The Genius declares:

Not all is strange to her in this new land.
My train and I are no strangers she will own,
When we to her our names and works make known.³⁹

Then the stage directions instruct that each of the arts addresses the Princess directly and describes their own particular features. There is no Princess in the cast list, so it seems to have been Schiller's intention that the actors turned to address Maria Paulowna directly at this point. These addresses conclude this concise festival play. There is little action, merely a succession of images and speeches.

Von Schorn's reminiscences show that for the 9 November 1854 performance, Liszt's deputy, Carl Stör, provided the music for *Die Huldigung der Künste* based on the Grand Duchess's own compositions.⁴⁰ Unfortunately Maria Paulowna's music, as well as Stör's arrangement of it, *Festmusik zur 50 jährigen Jubelfeier des Einzugs der Frau Großherzogin Maria Paulowna*, until recently held at the *Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek* in Weimar,

³⁶ Charles T. Brooks, *Schiller's Homage of the Arts with Miscellaneous Pieces from Rückert, Freiligrath, and other German Poets* (New York: James Miller Publisher, 1846), 4.

³⁷ Brooks' English translation refers to the arts as 'Godesses'. They are simply named 'Künste' [arts] in the original. There is some overlap here with the nine muses, though Schiller does not use the term 'die Muse'.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-8

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴⁰ Liszt's fourth *Consolation* was also based on compositions by Maria Paulowna.

were lost in the fire of 2004. The only available references to Stör's music (in comparison to Liszt's) include brief comments made by Joachim Raff and Peter Cornelius in their diaries. Interestingly, they held very different opinions. Raff wrote that 'The music by Stör is abysmal and very boring' whereas he believed that *Festklänge* had '20 times more worth than the whole of Stör's music.'⁴¹ Alternatively, Cornelius found that 'Stör's music was entirely noble and appropriately presented. Everything quite right! Liszt's *Festklänge* made an awkward impression on me. One recognises a noble, unsettled spirit in the work, which yearns for festival joy, but does not find adequate sounds.'⁴²

It is impossible from these comments to gain a clear impression of Stör's achievement. Nonetheless, *Die Huldigung der Künste*, as a tribute play with very little action, few characters, and much recitation against a background of various tableaux has much in common with *Vor hundert Jahren* and *Die Glocke*. These two works may then provide a good idea of the approach Stör would likely have taken in his arrangement. We can safely assume that there was a short overture before the curtain was raised and the music continued as the peasants danced (as indicated in the performance directions). We can also assume that there were several numbers, including some melodrama and some closing music.

The Conception of *Festklänge*: *Die Huldigung der Künste* and the Jubilee

For 9 November it appears that Liszt was required to compose a jubilant orchestral piece that was a fitting tribute to Maria Paulowna and her reign. Given the function fulfilled by *Tasso* and *Orpheus* on similar occasions, Liszt may well also have assumed that his music would be performed as an overture to Schiller's work, *Die Huldigung der Künste*. This is certainly reflected in the original title of the work. Furthermore, a letter from Liszt to Lina

⁴¹ Helene Raff, 'Franz Liszt und Joachim Raff Im Spiegel ihrer Briefe' in *Die Musik* I. 15/16 (May 1902), 1425.

⁴² Cornelius, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe*, 163. 'Störs Musik war ganz nobel und passen gehalten. Alles was recht ist! Liszts Festklänge machten mir einen peinlichen Eindruck. Man erkennt einen edlen, unruhigen Geist in dem Werk, der nach festlicher Freude sich sehnt, aber keinen Klang genügend findet.'

Ramann dated 22 June 1882 shows that he strongly associated Maria Paulowna with Schiller's play.⁴³ When he began work on *Festklänge* it may already have been decided that *Die Huldigung der Künste* would also appear on the programme. A festival overture was required then, with all the typical conventions that that would necessitate.

Aside from the original title, several musical features of the published score suggest that *Festklänge* was conceived with Maria Paulowna's jubilee in mind. The abundance of fanfares throughout the piece, the martial style of much of the music, particularly the introduction and first subject, the time signature of the opening (2/2) and the tempo marking *Allegro con brio*, as well as the boisterous use of brass and percussion instruments are all signifiers found in other marches and processional pieces Liszt composed for other Weimar festivals. Both the *Huldigungsmarsch* and the *Goethemarsch* follow the structure and style of typical marches. They contain a fanfare-based introduction followed by a martial first theme. This is then contrasted by a lyrical theme. Subsequently, the majority of the material is repeated with a jubilant coda to close. The form, harmonic structures and thematic working are undoubtedly much more complicated in *Festklänge* than in either of these pieces, yet *Festklänge* does contain all of these common features, and they provided the perfect counterpart to *Die Huldigung der Künste*. The confident, celebratory character of *Festklänge* as a whole certainly did not reflect Liszt and Carolyne's marriage hopes at the time, but was appropriate for the jubilee.

This is despite the fact that from an early stage, Liszt also seemed to reference another piece with nuptial associations: Mendelssohn's famous Wedding March from his music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Yet, Liszt seems to have approached the Mendelssohn simply as a processional piece, rather than a Wedding March. In the overture score (GSA 60/A7d) the

⁴³ Ramann, *Lisztiana*, 193. In this letter to Ramann Liszt confided that Maria Paulowna was the only person at Weimar to support his ideas. On mentioning the Grand Duchess he immediately writes (- Hochderselben widmete Schiller die „Huldigung der Künste[“] -) [to whom Schiller dedicated *Die Huldigung der Künste*], as though he felt this fact was of some importance in explaining to Ramann who the Grand Duchess was.

piece originally began at bar 5 with the first entry of the fanfare theme (the first four bars of dotted rhythms in the timpani did not yet exist). Four introductory bars of repeated G's seem to have been written in later in pencil but then crossed out:

Transcription 1: *Festklänge* Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d), bb. 1-4



This original opening has obvious parallels with the opening of Mendelssohn's Wedding March:

Ex. 1: Mendelssohn, Wedding March from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, bb. 1-5.



In the summer of 1853 (when he completed the autograph) Liszt was also working on his *Huldigungsmarsch*, commissioned by the Grand Duke Carl Alexander. The opening of this piece bears an even closer resemblance to the Mendelssohn work. In particular, it is strongly related to bb. 13-17 where the opening theme returns at the first time bar in a slightly embellished version:

Ex. 2: Mendelssohn, Wedding March from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, bb. 13-17



Ex. 3: Liszt, *Huldigungsmarsch*, bb. 1-5



An undated letter to Carolyn further suggests that the Mendelssohn was on Liszt's mind when composing the *Huldigungsmarsch*:

Yesterday I finished my March for the 28 August [the proposed date for Carl Alexander's inauguration]. It is more than 200 bars in common time, and seems quite successful to me. The head of military music has adapted it for his band, and Raff will reorchestrate it for the theatre orchestra. I have written it for piano only, indicating only some of the instrumental entries. It is more than twice as long as the march from Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—and I believe it will have a very fine effect.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe*, Vol. 4, 164 (Letter 125, undated). My translation of : 'J'ai terminé hier ma Marche pour le 28 Août. Elle a plus de 200 mesures à 4 temps, et me semble assez bien réussie. Le chef de la musique militaire l'appropriera à son orchestre, et Raff en fera une autre instrumentation pour l'orchestre du théâtre. Je ne l'ai écrite que pour le piano en indiquant seulement quelques entrées d'instruments. Elle est plus du double plus longue que la Marche du *Sommernachstraum* de Mendelssohn – et je crois qu'elle sera d'un assez bel effet.'

The very beginning of *Festklänge* later evolved, but the style of the fanfare theme still seems to owe something to Mendelssohn, even though Liszt's key scheme is rather more complex. Interestingly, in his *Konzertparaphrase über Mendelssohns Hochzeitsmarsch und Elfenreigen aus der Musik zu Shakespeares Sommernachtstraum* (1849-50) Liszt gave Mendelssohn's work a new opening that follows a similar tonal pattern to that of *Festklänge*. The symphonic poem opens with martial rhythms spelling the C major triad, the tonic, from bars 1-5. But from bar 6 Liszt adds a B flat pedal in the bass, creating a third inversion dominant 7th chord of the key of F. This pedal remains until bar 23 with the melody instruments repeatedly spelling out the dominant 7th of F major in broken chords. At bar 23 there is a short pause and the pattern begins again, but expectation of F major is disappointed. The bass falls a semitone to A and this time the music repeatedly spells the dominant 7th of G major, with a C pedal in the bass from bar 38. The fanfare part of the introduction ends at bar 45 on this dominant 7th of G. There are two attempts at preparing two different keys: F major and G major before the main theme finally appears in the tonic: C major.

Ex. 4: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 5-16

This musical score is for Liszt's *Festklänge*, measures 5-16. It is written for a full orchestra. The score is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The instruments are arranged in a standard orchestral layout. The woodwinds (Oboe, Clarinet in C, Bassoon, and Horn in C) play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The strings (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass) provide a harmonic foundation with sustained chords. The Flute part is mostly silent in this section. The score is divided into three measures, with the first measure containing the initial rhythmic pattern and the subsequent measures showing the continuation of the woodwind and string parts.

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in C

Bassoon

Horn in C

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

This musical score is arranged in two systems, each containing five staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

System 1 (Top):

- Staff 1 (Treble):** Contains rests in the first three measures, followed by a melodic line in the fourth measure starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic.
- Staff 2 (Treble):** Features a melodic line that begins in the second measure with a *cresc.* marking and continues through the fourth measure with a forte (*f*) dynamic.
- Staff 3 (Treble):** Features a melodic line that begins in the second measure with a *cresc.* marking and continues through the fourth measure with a forte (*f*) dynamic.
- Staff 4 (Bass):** Features a melodic line that begins in the second measure with a *cresc.* marking and continues through the fourth measure with a forte (*f*) dynamic.
- Staff 5 (Bass):** Features a melodic line that begins in the second measure with a *cresc.* marking and continues through the fourth measure with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

System 2 (Bottom):

- Staff 1 (Treble):** Contains chords in the first three measures, followed by a melodic line in the fourth measure starting with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.
- Staff 2 (Treble):** Contains chords in the first three measures, followed by a melodic line in the fourth measure starting with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.
- Staff 3 (Bass):** Contains chords in the first three measures, followed by a melodic line in the fourth measure starting with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.
- Staff 4 (Bass):** Contains chords in the first three measures, followed by a melodic line in the fourth measure starting with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.
- Staff 5 (Bass):** Contains chords in the first three measures, followed by a melodic line in the fourth measure starting with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.

This musical score is divided into two systems. The first system (measures 1-4) features a piano solo section. The piano part is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a series of chords and a melodic line, followed by a sustained note marked *ff* (fortissimo) in measure 4. The orchestra part is written in bass clef and provides harmonic support with chords and a melodic line, also marked *ff* in measure 4. The second system (measures 5-8) features an orchestral section. The piano part is written in treble clef and features a rapid, ascending scale marked *sf* (sforzando) in measure 8. The orchestra part is written in bass clef and features a rapid, ascending scale marked *sf* in measure 8. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, key signatures, dynamics, and articulation marks.

Similarly in the Mendelssohn transcription Liszt composes two harmonic ‘false starts’, the first of which adds a B flat to the C major triad, creating a dominant 7th, before we hear the main theme in the tonic:

Ex. 5: Liszt, *Konzertparaphrase über Mendelssohns Hochzeitsmarsch und Elfenreigen aus der Musik zu Shakespeares Sommernachtstraum*, bb. 1-17

20. *Allegro.*

The musical score is written for piano and consists of four systems. The first system begins with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a forte (f) dynamic. It features a series of chords and arpeggiated figures. The second system continues with similar textures, including a piano (p) section with a triplet. The third system shows a more active bass line with triplets and a marcato (marked) instruction. The fourth system includes a 'p sotto voce' (piano sotto voce) instruction and a 'senza Ped.' (senza Pedale) instruction, indicating a change in pedaling technique. The score is marked with various performance instructions and dynamic changes throughout the piece.

All of this suggests that Mendelssohn’s Wedding March provided Liszt with a model in the summer of 1853 for both the *Huldigungsmarsch* and *Festklänge*. As a concise and jubilant march, it provided a fruitful starting point for the processional pieces he was expected to produce in Weimar. This, coupled with the original title, provides compelling

evidence that Liszt composed the work for the festival and did not originally conceptualise it as a ‘symphonic poem’.

Instead, the piece was initially intended to be interpreted as a tribute to Maria Paulowna, as it represented a new work by the Kapellmeister for the jubilee. And it was a counterpart to Schiller’s play, which had also been written in honour of the Grand Duchess. The mood of the play and the accompanying prologue and epilogue (written by Schoell for the occasion) is naturally one of celebration. The Schiller work celebrates Maria Paulowna’s arrival in Weimar, and the epilogue looks back with joy on her long and successful reign. *Festklänge* was suitably jubilant. The opening fanfare ably reinforced the themes of the play, as did the bright allegros, the joyous C major main theme, the triumphant coda and the final apotheosis. Furthermore, the title and general character of the music perhaps also drew on the festival welcoming the Princess alluded to in the play.

Programming *Festklänge*: Dramatic Function

Overall, several stylistic features suggest that Liszt composed *Festklänge* as a tribute to Maria Paulowna and an introduction to *Die Huldigung der Künste*. Yet von Schorn’s description of the evening’s programme (supported by the playbill in Figure 1) shows that *Festklänge* was performed after Schiller’s *Die Huldigung der Künste* and was followed by Rubinstein’s *Die sibirischen Jäger*. Somewhat surprisingly, then, it functioned effectively as an entr’acte between two short one-act dramatic productions. The following section will consider the function of the piece within the evening’s programme and how Liszt shaped the festival programme.

We have seen in chapters one and two that entr’actes were often conducted in Weimar (occasionally by Liszt), either between the acts of a play or between two short one-act plays. Often generic entr’actes would be performed and not listed on the programme, yet on other

occasions the programme would indicate that a more substantial instrumental work was to fulfil this function.⁴⁵

Entr'actes varied considerably in length and in style. Accounts from the time suggest that the only rule was that they should begin as soon as the curtain was lowered (at which point several members of the audience would leave the theatre) and end as it was raised again. Generally the length was determined by the time needed for scene and costume changes.⁴⁶ Archival files show that Liszt would have been responsible for signalling when the curtain should be raised again.⁴⁷ Performance traditions suggest that the curtain would have been lowered following Schoell's epilogue and then *Festklänge* would have begun. The playbill shows that Frau Milde and Frau Beck performed in both *Die Huldigung der Künste* and *Die sibirischen Jäger*. They would have needed time to change costume. There were also scene changes to be made. A substantial orchestral work like *Festklänge*⁴⁸ would have provided the time for this before the curtain was raised once more for *Die sibirischen Jäger*.

It is likely that the orchestra would have remained in the pit for the performance of *Festklänge*, as it was required for the two dramatic performances. Indeed, considering that scenery changes would have taken place whilst *Festklänge* sounded it would have been impossible for the orchestra to have moved onstage at this point. All of this supports the surprising conclusion that at the premiere of *Festklänge* the work effectively functioned as an entr'acte.

⁴⁵ Examples include Beethoven's *Eroica Symphony* and Berlioz's *Le Carnaval Romain* as we saw in Chapter One.

⁴⁶ See Ferdinand Hiller, 'Zwischenacts-Musik' in *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit: Gelegentliches von Ferdinand Hiller* Vol. 1 (Hermann Mendelssohn, 1868), 195-6. This article was first printed in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on 25 August 1855 and further prompted Liszt to write his article on the same topic (Liszt mentions it towards the beginning of his own).

⁴⁷ Unknown author, 'Instruction für den Hof-kapellmeister der Grossherzogliche Hoftheater', second half of the nineteenth century, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

⁴⁸ Performances of *Festklänge* generally last around twenty minutes.

Considering his antipathy towards the practice of performing entr'actes and the advanced stage of the series of symphonic poems at this time, it seems highly unusual that Liszt should have allowed one of his symphonic poems to be used in this way. After the *Orpheus* production on 16 February 1854, all of the premieres of the symphonic poems (with the exception of *Festklänge*) took place in concert settings. This is perhaps evidence that by now Liszt's thoughts on genre and on the form and function of his series were much better defined. In fact, several symphonic poems received their premieres in the year 1854.⁴⁹

It was probably the case that Liszt wished to give his new orchestral works a 'test-run' in Weimar before taking them to bigger, more prestigious venues. This allowed him to premiere the works in a setting where they would not receive too much attention.⁵⁰ He could then revise as necessary before giving them a full public outing elsewhere. Yet he still wanted the premieres to be in concert settings in order to begin cementing the character of the series and so that he would not have to endure the discourtesy of a noisy, inattentive audience.

Given Liszt's antipathy towards entr'actes and his aims for his series of symphonic poems at this stage (evident in the performance circumstances of the other 1854 premieres), it seems likely that the order of the programme was not in fact his decision. Significantly, Beaulieu-Marconnay was Intendant when *Festklänge* was premiered. If we recall that

⁴⁹ *Les Préludes* was premiered in a concert in the court theatre on 23 February 1854. See Adolf Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters 1817-1907* (Weimar, 1908), 106. *Mazeppa* was premiered in a concert in the court theatre on 16 April 1854. And the first performance of *Orpheus* in its symphonic poem version took place the day after the *Festklänge* performance: on 10 November. See Raabe, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 299.

⁵⁰ Probably because of its lowly status on the programme, the premiere of *Festklänge* was overlooked by the musical press. In a roundup of recent musical events in various German states, the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*'s short report of the occasion mentioned only the Rubinstein opera: 'On 9 November Rubinstein's opera 'The Hunters of Siberia' was performed with acclaim.' See Unknown author, *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, 29 November 1854. 'Am 9. November gelangte die Oper von Rubinstein: „Die sibirischen Jäger“ mit Beifall zur Aufführung.' Exactly the same report was included in *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, Issue No. 46 Leipzig, November 1854, 374 in the section entitled 'Dur und Moll'. Liszt's symphonic poems naturally received more attention when they were performed in concert settings and in other contexts they were eclipsed by dramatic productions.

The coverage of the jubilee festival in the local newspaper, the *Weimarer Zeitung*, neglected Liszt's contribution still more. It barely even mentioned the performances on 9 November and preferred instead to concentrate on the court and the number of dignitaries present. This was typical of the *Weimarer Zeitung*'s coverage of such events. Frustratingly, the local paper was more interested in the movements of the court than the cultural life of the town.

Beaulieu-Marconnay actually circulated precise legislation regarding the composition of entr'actes in 1856, appears to have had little musical education and also regularly locked horns with Liszt, we can assume with some certainty that he was responsible for this decision.

Interestingly, the programming of the premiere of *Festklänge* as an entr'acte may possibly have been a catalyst behind Liszt's article 'Zwischenaktsmusik', which appeared the following year in the *Berliner Musikzeitung Echo* on 9 December. Liszt's article was later edited and retitled 'Keine Zwischenaktsmusik!' by Lina Ramann for appearance within the *Gesammelte Schriften*, but the two versions are very similar.⁵¹ The article was written in response to an item by Ferdinand Hiller on the same topic which had appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on 25 August 1855. Undoubtedly Liszt's strong reaction to the subject and the impetus behind his article was also the result of growing frustrations with the Weimar court theatre's continuance of this performance tradition, of which the *Festklänge* premiere would have provided a particularly painful example. In the article Liszt gives vent to his grievances in a tirade in which "the Intendant" receives a lot of the blame for the practice of performing entr'actes. We can perhaps replace any references to 'the Intendant' with the name Beaulieu-Marconnay. The article leads us to the supposition that Liszt would not have chosen to have *Festklänge* premiered as an entr'acte, and he decided to use the musical press to make his grievances very public. Yet, the incident reveals an unfamiliar side to his work in Weimar: not as an artist composing music when inspiration struck, but as an employee required to produce something for a festival and conduct it when requested.

⁵¹ Franz Liszt, 'Keine Zwischenaktsmusik!' in *Gesammelte Schriften* Vol. 3: *Dramaturgische Blätter Part 1: Essays über musikalische Bühnenwerke und Bühnenfragen, Komponisten und Darsteller* ed. and trans. Lina Ramann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881), 136-150.

In ‘Zwischenaktsmusik’ Liszt discussed the fusion of music and literature. His concern was that entr’actes detract from the drama itself,⁵² and because of this playwrights should also rebel against them and take more care in selecting music for their productions.⁵³ The music chosen should ‘belong’ to the drama.⁵⁴ The meaning of the word ‘belong’ here is not clarified, but some sort of poetic sympathy is implied, and Liszt went on to suggest that entr’actes should be somehow ‘worthy’ of the production they support. Tellingly, the choice of entr’actes should be made by authors and composers and, as their representatives, Artistic Directors and Kapellmeisters, not by Intendants.⁵⁵ If the Intendant refused to carry the costs for appropriate entr’actes (as Liszt would expect from their ‘frugal ministration’ [sparsamlichen Fürsorge]), there should be none at all.⁵⁶ If entr’actes had not been written especially for the drama (for Liszt this was a different kind of music that should be studied and properly advertised on the programme⁵⁷) then military music or the kind of music performed at balls and promenade concerts should be played.⁵⁸ Liszt did think it was possible, however, to fuse literary and musical works that were originally independent into a legitimate whole on the stage.⁵⁹ Accordingly, we have seen in Chapter One that, in choosing entr’actes, he would often try to find a work that reflected the themes of the plays being performed and ensured that the work was advertised on the playbill—as the *Eroica Symphony* had been advertised when performed as an entr’acte. Though, on other occasions Liszt would also merely programme something light and ebullient, as he had done for the *Torquato Tasso* production.

⁵² Liszt, ‘Zwischenaktsmusik!’, 387.

⁵³ Ibid., 389.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 387.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 390.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 390.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 386-7.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 392.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 386. ‘Wir läugnen sogar nicht, daß man auf der Bühne und andern Orts, ursprünglich von einander unabhängige literarische und musikalische Werke verbinden und zu einem mehr oder weniger harmonischen, jedoch hinlänglich berechtigten Ganzen verschmelzen kann.’

On considering Liszt's words, it is possible to understand why he let *Festklänge* remain on the programme even though it was to be an entr'acte, not an overture, instead of programming a different piece (such as another symphonic poem, or one of his other processional pieces). Owing to its compositional context, the piece, as we have seen, did 'belong'—it did reflect the occasion, mood, and subject of the play. As an admirer of Schiller, Liszt encouraged relationships between their works and would have seen his music as a 'worthy' accompaniment. Furthermore, on a practical level, Liszt acknowledged that entr'actes had to be bright and animated in order to compete with the noise of the audience.⁶⁰ *Festklänge* could fulfil this role. And it contained martial music that, as we have already seen, Liszt felt was appropriate for entr'actes.

Finally, the fact that the piece did not have an obvious programme can only have made it even more suited to performance as an entr'acte. Liszt may have felt that this choice would not undermine his aesthetic ideas. He appears to have conceptualised *Festklänge* and its possible performance contexts in a similar way to those of Weber's *Jubel-Ouvertüre*. This work was also composed for a 50th jubilee: that of King Frederick Augustus 1 of Saxony. It also has no programme apart from a general spirit of jubilation, just like *Festklänge*. And we have already seen in Chapter One that Liszt conducted it as an overture to the comedy *Die Erzählungen der Königen von Navarra*. He clearly felt it provided an appropriate instrumental introduction to a light-hearted drama and considered *Festklänge* in a similar light. The parallels with the *Jubel-Ouvertüre* coupled with the title, *Festival Overture*, and Liszt's antipathy to entr'actes further suggests that he probably originally intended *Festklänge* as an overture to *Die Huldigung der Künste* rather than as an entr'acte. Nonetheless, it could still ably fulfil the latter function.

⁶⁰ Liszt, 'Zwischenaktsmusik!', 387.

The final work of the evening was Rubinstein's one-act opera, *The Hunters of Siberia*, and the choice was probably a pragmatic one. It was a suitable length and allowed Liszt to fulfil his obligation to conduct a new opera on important Weimar anniversaries, though unfortunately not one of his own, which surely would have been preferable. Once again, in the absence of an opera, Liszt's symphonic poems were called upon to fill the lacuna in his compositional output. Moreover, *Festklänge* created a slick transition into the Rubinstein, ending as it did on a chord of C major, the dominant of the long octave F that opens the opera.

Ex. 6: Rubinstein, *Die sibirischen Jäger*, bb. 1-19

The image displays a musical score for the first 19 measures of Rubinstein's opera *Die sibirischen Jäger*. The score is written for piano and features a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. It is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-8) begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic, followed by a fortissimo (*f*) section, and ends with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) section. The second system (measures 9-14) continues the musical development. The third system (measures 15-19) concludes the excerpt. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

The opening of the opera would have created quite a different impression after the final rousing bars of *Festklänge*. Yet, and this was likely the most important factor in deciding why it was chosen for the occasion, the opera's content was highly appropriate, providing a fitting reflection of Maria Paulowna's Russian ancestry. The work had, in fact,

been commissioned by Maria Paulowna's sister-in-law, the Grand Duchess Elena Paulowna of Russia,⁶¹ and so it also carried an agreeable family connection.

Rubinstein had been working on *The Hunters of Siberia* (a romantic opera) since the beginning of 1853. It was one of three short operas commissioned by Grand Duchess Elena. The other two were entitled *Vengeance* (a tragic opera) and *Fomka the Fool* (a comic opera). Philip Taylor tells us that Grand Duchess Elena 'intended the operas to reflect the various nationalities of the Russian Empire—Siberia, Georgia, and Great Russia—and they were to be performed together in a single evening.'⁶² *The Hunters of Siberia* with its overtly Russian subject matter was, therefore, highly suited to the occasion and the audience.

Liszt had been in touch with Anton Rubinstein regarding the staging of one of his operas in Weimar from July 1854. He was probably considering possible repertoire for the jubilee in order to give the orchestra and singers time for rehearsal, and a light-hearted Russian opera would, of course, be perfect. Liszt had recently enjoyed having Rubinstein stay at the Altenburg for a few weeks, and he confided to Karl Klindworth on 2 July 1854 that Rubinstein 'possesses tremendous material, and an extraordinary versatility in the handling of it. He brought with him about forty or fifty manuscripts (Symphonies, Concertos, Trios, Quartets, Sonatas, Songs, a couple of Russian Operas, which have been given in Petersburg), which I read through with much interest during the four weeks which he spent here on the Altenburg.'⁶³ Presumably the 'Russian Operas' to which Liszt refers were *The Hunters of Siberia*, *Vengeance*, and *Fomka the Fool*.

Liszt mentioned in a letter to the Weimar cellist Bernhard Cossmann that Mendelssohn's Finale from the first act of his unfinished opera, *Die Lorelei* would close the

⁶¹ Philip Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein: a Life in Music* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2007), 39.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶³ Translation in La Mara, *Letters of Liszt* Vol. 1, trans. Constance Bache, 195 based on the original in La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 1, 160 (Letter 115 to Karl Klindworth, 2 July 1854).

evening,⁶⁴ but in the end it was not performed on this occasion. Compared to the Rubinstein opera, *Die Lorelei* probably would have been rather an uncomfortable fit in terms of both the occasion, and its relationship to the other musical elements in the programme. The Finale of Act One sees Leonora seeking vengeance on her beloved for rejecting her. She invokes the spirits of the Rhine to do so. The effect is dramatic, but offers a new and incomplete story that would not have provided a suitable resolution to the evening. Unlike *Festklänge*, *Die Lorelei* perhaps contained too visible a narrative to provide a fitting counterpart to the other works on the programme. It also did not share the themes of festivity and celebration. Liszt's decision to close a festival of celebration dedicated to the Russian Grand Duchess with *Die sibirischen Jäger* was much more appropriate, not least because the close of Rubinstein's opera is based on a Russian folksong. This rousing homage to Maria Paulowna's nationality would have provided a very satisfactory ending to the jubilee celebrations:

⁶⁴ 'For the 9th October [Liszt must have meant November] (fiftieth anniversary of the entry of H. I. H. the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna into Weimar) a rather curious performance will be arranged:-

1st The Homage to Art by Schiller

2nd One of my Symphonic Poems

3rd 'The Hunters of Siberia' Opera in one act – Music by Rubinstein

4th The Finale of 'Lorelei' by Mendelssohn.'

Translation in La Mara, *Letters of Liszt* Vol. 1, trans. Constance Bache (London, 1894), 207 based on the original in La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe* Vol. 1, 170 (Letter 121): 'Pour le 9 Octobre (50^{me} anniversaire de l'entrée de S. A. I. Mme la Grand Duchesse Maria Paulowna à Weymar) on composera un spectacle assez curieux.

1. Die Huldigung der Künste de Schiller
2. Un de mes Poèmes symphoniques.
3. Les chasseurs de Sibérie, Opéra en un acte – Musique de Rubinstein.
4. Le Finale de Loreley de Mendelssohn.

Ex. 7: Extract from the finale of Rubinstein's *Die sibirischen Jäger*



Overall, understanding the compositional context and premiere of *Festklänge* allows us to understand some of the requirements placed on Liszt at Weimar Festivals. It also allows us to unravel the reasoning behind his programming choices, simultaneously revealing some of his aesthetic ideas on entr'actes and music and drama. Yet, more importantly, it explains many of the features that make *Festklänge* sit awkwardly within the series of symphonic poems. The work's position within Weimar's festival culture has been shown to explain the absence of a preface or programmatic title, the jubilant character, and several other stylistic features. Indeed, it provides a more convincing explanation than the traditional marriage programme. It can also explain another unusual feature: the very clear references to sonata form that are more obvious and conventional in this work than in any of the other symphonic poems. The following sections will provide a detailed examination of the overture score in order to explore how Liszt revised formal and programmatic aspects to make *Festklänge* a more comfortable fit as a symphonic poem.

The evolution of *Festklänge*: Formal Requirements

When Liszt began work on *Festklänge* in the summer of 1853 we have seen that he probably had it in mind to compose a festival overture suitable as a tribute to Maria Paulowna and for performance with Schiller's *Die Huldigung der Künste*. The remainder of this chapter will consider how the work evolved from *Festival Overture* to *Festival Sounds*. It will show that the typical structure of a festival overture—sonata form—was initially more clearly visible, and that Liszt's revisions partly obscured it. As the structure is far more traditional than that found in Liszt's other symphonic poems, it will not be appropriate to reference Hepokoski's work on innovative approaches to sonata form. Therefore, the formal analysis will largely be based on comments from Liszt's supporters in order to compare the structure of *Festklänge* to contemporary understandings of sonata form.

The section will also demonstrate, however, that Liszt deliberately obscured this structure by emphasizing rhetorical elements (which would be interpreted by others in programmatic terms). The complex dialogue that this created between the rhetorical and tonal structures will be interpreted using recent musicological studies. The resulting dialogue has since confused analysts but was not present when the work was initially conceived along more traditional lines as a Festival Overture. All of this suggests that the early version was very much a product of its performance context, initially more closely in dialogue with sonata form, and with even less scope for programmatic interpretations than the symphonic poem.

Liszt, of course, put forward the idea that the form of each of his symphonic poems was determined by its particular programmatic content, and this was generally accepted for a long time. Richard Kaplan could in an article from 1984, therefore, claim originality for demonstrating that sonata form structures are evident in several of the symphonic poems,

namely *Tasso*, *Les Préludes*, *Orpheus* and *Prometheus*.⁶⁵ This idea was then taken up by several others: Kenneth Hamilton added *Festklänge* to Kaplan's list,⁶⁶ and Michael Saffle gave a detailed account of this formal framework in his 'Liszt's use of Sonata Form: the Case of *Festklänge*'.⁶⁷

Yet the idea was not new. Not only did it appear in Gerald Abraham's *100 Years of Music*,⁶⁸ it actually dates back to Liszt's own time. References to sonata form occur in Felix Draeseke's analysis of *Festklänge*, which appeared as part of his series on the first nine symphonic poems. This series was written from 1857 to '59 and originally published in *Anregungen für Kunst, Leben und Wissenschaft*.⁶⁹ It might be expected that Draeseke would focus largely on the programmatic features of the work. He does briefly mention them, closing with a possible programme, which, he makes clear, is of his own invention.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, Draeseke's article mainly focuses on a detailed analysis of the harmonies, thematic interrelations and formal structure. He detects a sonata form framework, whilst also highlighting irregularities, much in the same way that James Hepokoski now writes about 'sonata deformations'.⁷¹ Yet, Draeseke does not interpret all of the symphonic poems with reference to sonata form. His analysis of *Les Préludes*, for example, puts forward the idea that the form is based on the programmatic content.⁷² Perhaps the fact that *Festklänge* appeared without a programme forced Draeseke to approach it as he would a traditional

⁶⁵ Richard Kaplan 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt: The Revolutionary Reconsidered', *19th Century Music*, 8 (1984), 145.

⁶⁶ Kenneth Hamilton, *Liszt: Sonata in B minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 26.

⁶⁷ See Michael Saffle, 'Liszt's use of Sonata Form: the Case of *Festklänge*' in *Liszt 2000 Selected Lectures Given at the International Liszt Conference in Budapest* (Budapest: Hungarian Liszt Society, 2000), 201-215.

⁶⁸ Abraham cites a doctoral dissertation by Joachim Bergfeld, *Die formale Struktur der Symphonischen Dichtungen Franz Liszts* (from 1931), which found clear formal outlines in each of the symphonic poems, with the exception of *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne*. See Abraham, *100 Years of Music*, 40.

⁶⁹ The complete essays can be found in Felix Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861* ed. Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff and Helmut Loos (Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1987), 146-252.

⁷⁰ The suggested programme appears in *Ibid.*, 200-201. Details of it are given below.

⁷¹ Hepokoski's ideas on this topic have formed the subject of several articles, but the most comprehensive discussion is James Hepokoski's and Warren Darcy's, *Elements of Sonata Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁷² Draeseke, *Schriften*, 170.

symphonic movement. Accordingly, his analysis of *Festklänge* is one of his most detailed and technical.

On the other hand, there is also evidence that even symphonic poems that did have published programmes were sometimes interpreted by Liszt's contemporaries with reference to their take on traditional forms, but it was always emphasised that Liszt's approach was innovative. *Les Préludes*, for example, was referred to in the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* as 'an attempt to include the symphonic movements Andante, Scherzo and Finale in one movement.'⁷³ 'Double function sonata form' has been found by scholars in recent times in some of the symphonic poems (although there is by no means universal agreement over this),⁷⁴ yet Liszt's contemporaries have not generally been credited for noticing it. Writing about the *B minor Sonata* William Newman, for example, tells us: 'Although his [Liszt's] contemporaries...may not have perceived this double function [in the sonata], many subsequent writers on Liszt have at least hinted at it.'⁷⁵

It appears that scholars generally believe that 'double function form' is a recent discovery, yet Richard Pohl, another of Liszt's circle, associated the symphonic poem genre (as well as Liszt's Sonata and Piano Concertos) with this form. In *Franz Liszt: Studien und Erinnerungen* Pohl informs us, 'Considering form, we see the same thing fulfilled in these symphonic poems that Liszt achieved in the sonata and concerto: the metamorphosis of the form of 3-4 movements (Introduction, Allegro, Andante, Scherzo and Finale) that has been usual until now into one movement.' He continues that he sees the symphonic poem as a third

⁷³ 'ein Versuch die grösseren Sinfoniesätze Andante, Scherzo und Finale in einen Rahmen zu fassen.' See *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, 29 March 1854

⁷⁴ Steven Vande Moortele has attempted to analyse *Tasso* in this way, although he uses his own term: 2-D sonata form. See Steven Vande Moortele, 'Beyond Sonata Deformation: Liszt's Symphonic Poem *Tasso* and the Concept of Two-Dimensional Sonata Form' *Current Musicology* No. 86, 2008, 41-62. He also briefly mentions that '2-D sonata form' can be found in *Les Préludes* and *Die Ideale*, but does not give details. (See page 49 of the same article.) Kaplan also briefly mentions that *Die Ideale* has a sonata form structure combined with a larger symphonic structure (see Kaplan 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt...', 145). Finally, Michael Saffle in his chapter on Liszt's orchestral music in Ben Arnold's *The Liszt Companion* (Westport Conn.; London: Greenwood, 2002) also refers to 'double function sonata form' in *Tasso* (page 245), in *Héroïde Funèbre* (page 253), and the first movement of the *Dante Sonata* (page 267).

⁷⁵ William Newman, *The Sonata Since Beethoven* (University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 373.

category standing beside the symphony and the overture, integrating the formal unity of the symphony with the diversity of moods (die Mannigfaltigkeit der Stimmung) of the overture.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the remainder of Pohl's comments on the symphonic poems does not include an analysis of where such formal divisions would lie in each of the pieces.

Draeseke and Pohl were part of the Liszt coterie, and responsible for many of the supportive articles on Liszt's work that appeared in the musical press. They would have been privy to discussions with the composer regarding his music, and Liszt gave his endorsement to some of their articles. Perhaps the idea that some of the symphonic poems were both 'sonata deformations' and 'double function sonata forms' was widely held at the Altenburg. Certainly, the idea that the symphonic poems were indebted to sonata form seems to be older than has been previously understood.

Nonetheless, Liszt's contemporaries always considered Liszt as an innovative composer who would not merely churn out pieces in the same traditional forms. He would always treat form in an original way. Yet, this is not true of early versions of *Festklänge* in its form as *Festival Overture*. Even in its published form it is the symphonic poem in which the various conventions of this structure are most clearly present, with the fewest 'deformations'. A comparison of the Overture score (GSA 60/A7d) with the published symphonic poem reveals that one of Liszt's major concerns in revising the work as a 'symphonic poem' was to make the traditional structure less visible. He apparently felt sonata form appropriate for the Overture (as he had done when required to produce an overture to *Torquato Tasso*), but realized that as a symphonic poem the work was too traditional.⁷⁷ The following discussion

⁷⁶ Pohl, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* Vol. 2, 171. 'Formell betrachtet, sehen wir in diesen symphonischen Dichtungen dasselbe erfüllt, was Liszt in der Sonata und im Konzert erreicht hatte: die Umbildung der bisher üblichen Form und 3 bis 4 Sätzen (Introduktion, Allegro, Andante, Scherzo und Finale) in einen Satz.'

⁷⁷ Even though several of the symphonic poems started life with a clear sonata form framework, and traces of the form can still be discerned in the published works, Liszt tended to obscure the structure of the work in subsequent revisions..

of the formal revisions will reference the main existing analyses of the work, which all draw close comparisons with sonata form. It will show that many of the aspects that analysts find difficult to conceptualise within sonata form did not exist in the Overture version and were added as Liszt tried to make the structure more complex (and appropriate to the symphonic poem genre). An outline of two of the more detailed analyses of the work can be found in the table below.

Table 1: Existing Analyses of *Festklänge*

Michael Saffle ⁷⁸ (Sonata Form)	Felix Draeseke ⁷⁹ (Sonata Form)
Introduction, bb. 1-46	Introduction, bb. 1-70
Exposition Proper, bb. 47-230	Exposition, bb. 71-[268] (First subject – bar 71, second subject bar 140)
Introduction, bb. 231-268	Development, [bb. 269-362]
Development Proper, bb. 269-370	
Recapitulation, bb. 371-511	Recapitulation, [bb. 363-525]
Second Development/Coda, bb. 511-601	Coda, bb. 526

Two complete drafts of *Festklänge* in Liszt's hand (D-WRgs A7d and A 7a) are held at the Goethe and Schiller Archive in Weimar, as well as a complete copyist's score in Raff's hand (D-WRgs A7m),⁸⁰ and a draft of the 'Variants' (D-WRgs A7c1-3) that Liszt supplied as alternatives. For the sake of clarity, I will refer to the two complete drafts as 'the overture score' and 'the second draft' respectively, even though other drafts may well have existed at one time.

The overture score, as mentioned earlier, is entitled, *Fest-Ouverture Karlsbad 11 August*. For the most part, it is set out on four staves, which would suggest that the score

⁷⁸ Based on Michael Saffle, 'Liszt's use of Sonata Form: the Case of *Festklänge*', 201-215.

⁷⁹ See Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861*, 193-202 for the full analysis. Draeseke does refer to bar numbers but not consistently. I have inserted the ones in square brackets, based on Draeseke's comments.

⁸⁰ As the piece was advertised on the playbill as *Festklänge*, it is likely that it was Raff's copy that was performed at the premiere.

dates from a fairly early stage in the compositional process. Sometimes there are only two or three staves, but generally it appears that Liszt originally sketched the work as if writing for two pianos.⁸¹ Many of the scoring details are naturally missing, but there are occasional instructions regarding instrumentation, particularly in solo passages. Yet, the score is almost complete as far as thematic material and tonal and formal structure are concerned. In view of the advanced stage of Liszt's thematic, structural, and even, in some cases, scoring ideas, it seems likely that an even earlier draft of the piece did exist at some point. Nonetheless, there are still some significant differences between the overture and the published score, many of which can be related to the piece's origins as a festival overture.

One of the difficulties that analysts find in *Festklänge* is an incongruence between tonal and rhetorical elements, such as thematic presentation, tempo, topics, texture and dynamics. Traditionally, analysts have privileged tonal elements, which tend to dominate discussions of sonata form.⁸² Yet, in the symphonic poems rhetorical elements have an important role. This was recognised by Carl Dahlhaus who found that in these pieces 'tempos or moods became no less interchangeable than formal functions.'⁸³ And recently scholars have begun to pay more attention to the relationship between rhetorical and tonal elements in sonata forms.⁸⁴

⁸¹ The two piano version of *Festklänge* (published in 1856), which Liszt arranged himself, follows the published score almost exactly. It also includes detailed instrumental cues. The four hand version (published in 1861), also arranged by Liszt, is rather different. It contains significantly fewer instrumental cues, and uses two of the possible 'variants' to the score that Liszt also published in 1861. The 4 hand version follows the published orchestral score until letter D (the beginning of the second subject group), then the first variant, that expands the polonaise idea, is used. After this 'variant' there is a substantial cut— instead of hearing the Allegretto in G major at bar 208, we skip to bar 488 where it appears in the recapitulation in C. The development and recapitulation of the first subject group has been missed out. The rest of the piece largely follows the course of the symphonic poem, and also incorporates the last 'variant' to delay the *fff* at bar 555.

⁸² This is certainly true of Hepokoski's and Darcy's, *Elements of Sonata Theory*.

⁸³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* trans. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and London, University of California Press, 1989), 239.

⁸⁴ See, for example, Anne M. Hyland, 'Rhetorical Closure in the First Movement of Schubert's Quartet in C Major, D. 46: a Dialogue with Deformation', *Music Analysis*, 28/1 (2009), 111-142. Equally, William Marvin has found that the first movement of Mahler's Third Symphony is 'programmatically closed whilst tonally open'. See William Marvin, 'Mahler's Third Symphony and the Dismantling of Sonata Form', in *Keys to the Drama: Nine Perspectives on Sonata Forms* ed. Gordon Sly (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 53-71.

The privileged role of rhetorical elements is surely characteristic of the symphonic poem, yet not of the Festival Overture, and this appears to have informed Liszt's revisions. A substantial revision was made to the introduction, which in its final version is extensive, and has created confusion for analysts. After the fanfare (Ex. 4 above) we hear an expressive *Andante sostenuto* (bars 47-63) that comes as a complete contrast. It begins in C minor and exposes two motifs (which I shall label 1a and 2a) from which the first subject will be built:⁸⁵

Ex. 8: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 47-55 Theme 1a



Ex. 9: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 55- 59 Theme 2a



The *Andante Sostenuto* section creates difficulties for those attempting to pinpoint the division between the end of the introduction and the beginning of the exposition. There is a disjunction between thematic presentation and tonic confirmation, just as in the *B minor Sonata*, which was, of course, written shortly before *Festklänge*. Michael Saffle places the beginning of the exposition at bar 47—the beginning of the *Andante Sostenuto*. Saffle does

⁸⁵ It was a favoured practice of Liszt's to use his introductions as a means of presenting some of the main themes of a work before the tonal exposition proper. Examples of this can be found in the *B minor Sonata* and in *Hamlet*.

not give his reasoning, but presumably, it is based on the fact that here is the first presentation of the thematic material of the first subject group (though not its final transformation). It is, therefore, the rhetorical element that informs his analysis. Yet, it is not until the *Allegro mosso con brio* that the tonic is confirmed for the first time (in the cadence from bb. 70-71, although the music soon afterwards moves away from C major) and we hear the main theme in its final transformation (Ex. 10). Accordingly, Felix Draeseke places the beginning of the exposition here.

Ex. 10: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb.71-75 Theme 1b



He describes the preceding theme that begins at bar 63 (Ex. 11) as ‘8 bustling introductory bars’.⁸⁶

Ex. 11: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 63-66 Theme 2b



Everything up to bar 71, therefore, is introductory for Draeseke. And, of course, the simultaneous thematic and tonal arrival at bar 71 is a strong indicator that it is here that the exposition begins.

⁸⁶ Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861*, 196. ‘Nach 8 rauschenden einleitenden Tacten erfolgt auf S. 14 [T. 71] zum erstenmale eine ausgedehnte Vorführung des Hauptthemas.’

The fact that Liszt repeats exactly the material from part of the *Andante Sostenuto* (bars 55-70) at bars 355-370, where we would expect the recapitulation to begin, may contradict Draeseke's reading. Yet, we might also consider this an extended repeat of introductory material to herald the start of a new section within the form. This is a technique not uncommon in Liszt's music. The recapitulation proper would then begin at bar 371, where the main theme returns in the tonic. Strangely, Saffle also suggests that the recapitulation begins here. In terms of his analysis it would be consistent to place the beginning of the recapitulation at the return of the *Andante Sostenuto* at bar 316, but it appears here in the 'wrong' key. He, therefore, privileges tonal elements in his reading of the recapitulation. Such considerations also apply to the *B minor Sonata*, in which the first tonic confirmation is delayed until a cadence at bars 30-2. Several analysts suggest that the beginning of the exposition comes before this point, but Kenneth Hamilton has shown that exactly the same section with its tonic arrival is repeated at bars 533-53, suggesting that it is here that the recapitulation begins.⁸⁷ Clearly the structure of the *B minor Sonata* was an important model for *Festklänge*.

The incongruence between tonal and rhetorical elements has split analysts in their interpretations of formal divisions within *Festklänge*, yet, as a *Festival Overture* there was no such decision to be made. The beginning of the *Andante Sostenuto* (bb. 47-54 of the published score) is missing from the overture score.⁸⁸ Instead, after the fanfare section, we hear Theme 2a (Ex. 9) in a 6/8 version.

⁸⁷ Hamilton, *Liszt: Sonata in B minor*, 39.

⁸⁸ Interestingly, a section similar to the beginning of the *Andante Sostenuto* in the published version does occur in the Overture (though marked *Animato*) as part of the development, as it does in the published score at bar 316. This suggests that the music of the *Andante Sostenuto* was originally conceived as part of the development of Theme 2b (Ex. 11), and then Liszt later decided to put this transformation of the theme into the introduction as well.

Transcription 2: *Festklänge* Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d), 'Andante'

The first system of the musical score is in 4/4 time. It consists of five staves. The first two staves are empty. The third staff contains a melodic line starting with a quarter note, followed by a half note, and then a quarter note. The fourth staff contains a complex, fast-moving line with many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes, some of which are crossed out with diagonal lines. The fifth staff contains a simple bass line with a few notes.

Andante

The second system of the musical score is in 6/8 time. It consists of five staves. The first staff is labeled 'Oboe' and contains a melodic line. The second staff is labeled 'Cello Solo' and contains a melodic line. The third staff contains a complex, fast-moving line with many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes, some of which are crossed out with diagonal lines. The fourth staff contains a simple bass line with a few notes. The fifth staff contains a simple bass line with a few notes.

System 1 of a musical score. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line featuring eighth and sixteenth notes, including a chromatic scale. The second staff is a treble clef with a melodic line and a slur. The third staff is a treble clef with a chordal accompaniment. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a melodic line. The fifth staff is a bass clef with a melodic line. The system concludes with a double bar line.

System 2 of a musical score. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line featuring eighth and sixteenth notes, including a chromatic scale. The second staff is a treble clef with a melodic line and a slur. The third staff is a treble clef with a chordal accompaniment. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a melodic line. The fifth staff is a bass clef with a melodic line. The system concludes with a double bar line.



Without Theme 1a (Ex. 8), the *Andante* section might have been interpreted more readily by analysts as a transition into the exposition at bar 71. Significantly, the section did not initially contain the main theme. The first time we hear it in the overture is in conjunction

with the tonic. Furthermore, the *Andante* began with yet another dominant seventh chord—this time of E major, instead of beginning with an allusion to C minor as it would do later. This tonal sequence may also have made it less likely that the section would be interpreted as anything other than transitional. Furthermore, the transition would have been rather shorter. This also would have been less challenging for the listener, as the extensive transitions in *Festklänge* (often a characteristic of the symphonic poems as we have seen in *Tasso*) can cloud structural divisions. In the Festival Overture the division between the introduction and exposition, therefore, would have been a little clearer: tonal and rhetorical elements would have worked in conjunction to mark the structural division.

Liszt inserted the *Andante sostenuto* version of his main theme into the introduction of his second draft of the work (GSA 60/A7a). The chorale-like texture of this version of the melody seems to reference a religious topic, which deliberately invites programmatic interpretation. The reference was even clearer in Liszt's first attempt at this section, in which he employed longer note values:

Transcription 3: *Festklänge*, Second Draft (GSA 60/A7a), *Andante Sostenuto*

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

The score is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first measure is marked *pp*. The Violin I part begins with a half rest, followed by a half note F#4 in the second measure, and continues with a melodic line. The Violin II part begins with a half note F#4, followed by a half note G#4, and continues with a melodic line. The Viola part has a whole rest in the first measure, followed by a whole note F#4 in the second measure, and continues with a melodic line. The Violoncello part begins with a half note F#4, followed by a half note G#4, and continues with a melodic line. The Double Bass part begins with a half note F#4, followed by a half note G#4, and continues with a melodic line.

The score continues with measures 9-12. The Violin I part continues with a melodic line. The Violin II part continues with a melodic line. The Viola part continues with a melodic line. The Violoncello part continues with a melodic line. The Double Bass part continues with a melodic line.

With the addition of the *Andante Sostenuto* main theme, Liszt inserted a new topic and mood, and a new presentation of thematic material. Several of Liszt's supporters, including Peter Cornelius, Felix Draeseke, and Richard Pohl found precisely this variety of material in

Festklänge and the frequent changes of mood and tempo, difficult to navigate without a programme. Cornelius found the work ‘unruhig’ [unsettled],⁸⁹ while Draeseke was ‘disconcerted’ by the variety of thematic material and expressed this in an article intended to endorse Liszt’s work:

The disconcerting part of the form lies in the variety of the material, the diversity of the themes, which are sometimes lovely, sweeping, grand, sometimes delicate, heartfelt, involving different tempi and time signatures, and, as far as the first main section is concerned, appear as a conglomerate of many small periods. The whole appears as though it has been cut up and patched.⁹⁰

Draeseke continued that he felt it a mistake not to include a programme because he would like to find a reason for all of these changes of mood and breaking off of ideas.⁹¹

Pohl had a similar complaint:

The feelings are more variously combined, less constant, more changing [in comparison to the other symphonic poems]. Accordingly the form is also more episodic and appears less fluent. The composer has attached no programme and it would have been desirable here for him to have done so, since clearly defined ideas have directed him which are not otherwise easily fathomed.⁹²

The kaleidoscopic whirl of musical images and styles, hinting at a similar approach to that found in pieces such as *Ce qu’on entend* and *Die Ideale*, led Draeseke and Pohl to assume that *Festklänge* did, in fact, have a detailed programme that would explain these contrasts. Draeseke went so far as to create his own. His published analysis of the work referred to a series of ‘scenes’, including a love scene (the Allegretto from bar 116) and a scene in a ballroom (the Allegro non troppo from bar 140 and the following Allegretto from

⁸⁹ Peter Cornelius, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe*, 163.

⁹⁰ Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861*, 195-196. My translation of: ‘Das Befremdliche der Form liegt demnach nur in der Reichhaltigkeit und Mannichfaltigkeit des Stoffes, der Verschiedenartigkeit der Themen, welche theils lebhaft, rauschend, gewaltig, theils zart, innig, verschiedene Tempi und Tactarten bedingten, insofern dem ersten großen Theil das Ansehen eines Conglomerats vieler kleiner Perioden geben, das Ganze als zerstückelt und geflickt erscheinen lassen mußten.’

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁹² Pohl, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* Vol. 2, 175. ‘Die Gefühle sind mannigfaltiger kombiniert, weniger stetig, mehr wechselnd. Demgemäß ist auch die Form zusammengesetzter und scheinbar weniger fließend. – Der Komponist hat dieser Dichtung kein Programm beigegeben, und gerade hier wäre es wünschenswert gewesen, da ihn ganz bestimmte Gedanken geleitet haben, die nicht so leicht zu ergründen sind.’

bar 208). He also identified a protagonist in this love scene whom he compared to Beethoven's Klärchen, owing to the 'Germanic' character of the music.⁹³

Draeseke interprets the programme using language associated with staged drama: the various styles incorporated suggested 'scenes'. Solo instruments were 'characters'. The recurring trumpet fanfares had a diegetic function, indicating processional music heard in the distance. The revisions Liszt made to the overture, therefore, not only complicated the structure, but they encouraged programmatic readings referencing dramatic music (though there is nothing to suggest that he did, in fact, have a particular programme in mind).

The second subject was also affected by Liszt's revisions. The choice of the dominant as the contrasting key area is surprisingly traditional,⁹⁴ again perhaps reflecting the origins of the work as a Festival Overture (though it may also have been a product of the close relationship between *Festklänge* and the *B minor Sonata*). In the published version a G minor transition presents some of the main thematic material of the second subject and several changes of tempo, which can create a disjointed effect. We hear a lyrical melody:

⁹³ Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861*, 200-201.

⁹⁴ Liszt tended to favour the tonic-median relationship. It is often found in works beginning in C major and minor. Examples include *Orpheus*, *Tasso*, *Les Préludes* and the first movement of the *Faust Symphony*.

Ex. 12: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 117-120

II.
Fag.
Hr. in G. I.
p
espressivo
D Allegretto. (Tempo rubato.)
pizz.
mf
pizz.
mf
pizz.
mf
Cello Solo.
espressivo
Celli e Bassi.
pizz.
mf
pizz.

This leads into a second theme from bar 139 in a contrasting tempo:

Ex. 13: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 140-145

dolce con grazia

This theme begins in G major swinging between the dominant and tonic in equal 2-bar sections, signalling the beginning of the second subject. Yet, soon the music becomes modulatory as a sequence leads into a new theme hinting at a new key area of B flat major:

Ex. 14: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 158-161



Liszt avoids cadencing, however, only glancing at new keys in another sequential section before G major is confirmed once more with a perfect cadence in root position at bar 211 at the end of the first phrase of the final theme of the second subject. (Once again, the *Sonata* seems to have provided a fruitful model, as here too the two main groups of thematic material are divided by a modulatory transition section.) Then we hear the final second group theme. It bears a strong resemblance to the lyrical theme from bar 117 (Ex. 12), but it has a polonaise rhythm. This is the section that has been said to represent Princess Carolyne:

Ex. 15: Liszt, bb. 208-211

Allegretto. $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$ (Die Viertel wie früher die Halben.)

Allegretto. $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$ (Die Viertel wie früher die Halben.)

Allegretto. $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$ (Die Viertel wie früher die Halben.)

Allegretto. $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$ (Die Viertel wie früher die Halben.)

In the published score the ‘polonaise’ continues into a new melody with a dotted rhythm that also has a polonaise flavour. However, this theme (Ex. 16) does not appear in the Overture.

Ex. 16: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 215-219



Instead, Ex. 15 leads straight into the development section. Ex.16 is also missing from the second draft of the work. A smaller number of themes would have given the impression of a more straight-forward sonata form appropriate to a festival overture. Again, inserting this theme amplified the “topical” character of the work, in this case extending the polonaise flavour (and the reference to Carolyne). Such additions provided listeners with material from which to construct their own programme.

Indeed, the structure of the second subject is also generally clearer in the Overture than in the symphonic poem. First of all there are far fewer changes of tempo. No change was marked between the end of the *Allegretto* transitional section and the beginning of the second subject at bar 140, the *Allegro non troppo*. Neither was the *Un poco animato il tempo* at bar 158 marked, nor the return to *Allegro mosso con brio* at bar 186, nor the *Allegretto* at bar 208. In the published score these are quite considerable changes of tempo all made in the second subject group over a relatively short period of time. It may have been the case the Liszt simply did not include the tempo changes because he was still at an early stage in drafting the score, yet other tempo changes are indicated. Furthermore, several of the changes

of tempo are also missing from the later copyist's score (GSA 60/A7b).⁹⁵ All of this suggests that originally a generally more sedate tempo was found throughout the second subject area, creating a greater sense of homogeneity than we find in the published version. These changes in tempo, and consequently mood, encouraged programmatic readings and further suggest that Liszt was concerned in emphasising rhetorical elements in revising *Festklänge*.

The second subject of the overture also contains a device excised from later versions that seems to have been intended to provide structural clarity. In the overture the *Allegretto* (beginning at bar 208—Ex. 15) is heralded in the first draft by a fragment of the fanfare theme from the introduction. Even in the published score Liszt uses fragments of the fanfare to articulate the main structural divisions throughout this piece.⁹⁶ This is a technique that Draeseke commented on in his analysis of the work, comparing the fanfare theme to 'Ariadne's thread in the confusing corridors of the palace'.⁹⁷ Yet, the fanfare before the *Allegretto* does not appear in the published score, and is in fact peculiar to the Overture (Liszt had dropped it by the time he came to the second draft). There are also two further recurrences of the fanfare theme, which, again, do not appear in the second draft. Throughout the work the fanfare normally heralds events of structural significance, yet the fragment that appears before the *Allegretto* does not herald a new section, but divides the second subject group in two.

Yet, the need for the recurrence of the fanfare can be explained with reference to the tonal and thematic complexities of the second subject. We have already seen that the second subject begins in G major and then there is a transitional section that is modulatory and

⁹⁵ The *Allegretto* is marked and the *rallentando* at the end of this short section, but the *Allegro non troppo* is marked *a Tempo* in the copyist's score. It was also in the same time signature as the end of the previous section: 4/4 rather than 2/2. Liszt added *Allegro non troppo* in pencil, but did not change the time signature at this stage. Equally, Liszt added the *Un poco animato il tempo* to the copyist's score and the *Allegro mosso con brio*.

⁹⁶ The fanfare returns briefly, for example, to round off the first subject area.

⁹⁷ Draeseke, *Schriften 1855-1861*, 196: 'Die consequente Festsetzung einer originellen auf den Secundaccord gebauten Trompetenfanfare und eines großen in verschiedenartigster Gestalt auftretenden Hauptgedankens, sichert diese musikalische Einheit und dient dem Fremdling überall als Ariadnefaden in den verwirrenden Gängen des Palastes.'

contained new thematic material before we return to G major for the final second group theme: the polonaise. The Overture also contains these tonal and thematic complexities, but the fanfare provided clarity, announcing this point of tonal (re)arrival. Something similar is also to be found in the *Sonata* in which the transition between the two main sections of the second subject group is formed from material from the introduction. By the time of the second draft Liszt had removed the fanfare, leaving listeners to navigate themselves through the tonal wanderings of bb. 116-207.

Transcription 4: *Festklänge* Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d)—Fanfare Fragment dividing the second subject material

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the staff. The middle staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the staff. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' below the staff.

The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the staff. The middle staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the staff. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' below the staff.

The third system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the staff. The middle staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the staff. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' below the staff.

Posaunen

A single staff of musical notation for the Posaunen (Trumpets) part. It is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the staff.



At bar 231 in the published score (and the equivalent place in the overture) the return of the opening tempo and its fanfare theme suggests the beginning of a new section within the formal structure. As we might expect from this traditional sonata form, this marks the beginning of a short development of the main theme. It ends with a grand new transformation, which creates a premature climax in the ‘wrong’ key:

Ex. 17: Liszt, *Festklänge*, bb. 306-314



We do hear a similar transformation in the tonic as part of the coda from bar 555 but it is overshadowed by this pointed climax about two thirds of the way through the work. Once again, rhetorical aspects: the thematic transformation, the tempo markings, scoring and dynamics suggest a point of structural importance that is not reinforced by tonal elements.

Yet, in the overture the *Andante Sostenuto* (Ex. 17) was originally marked *Animato*. The melody and harmony were the same as in the published score, but the *animato* tempo would have given the theme a very different character, creating far less of a contrast to the *Allegro mosso con brio* fanfares immediately preceding it. This theme in its *Animato* tempo would also have created far less of a sense of climax than it does in the published score. It would have been conceived simply as another appearance of the main theme within the development. Changing the time signature created another dramatic contrast. In doing so, Liszt created a climax in an unusual position and seemingly encouraged others to interpret it as an indicator of a programme, as such elements had this function in other symphonic poems.

Equally, the majestic transformation of the main theme that occurs in the coda at bar 555 in the published score did not appear in the Overture. This, coupled with the faster tempo of what was to become the *Andante Sostenuto* theme meant there was generally far less of a sense of ‘apotheosis’ in the overture than in the symphonic poem. With the addition of this transformation, Liszt encouraged the reading that the symphonic poem dealt with some sort of triumph over adversity. Others took this to mean triumph over those wishing to keep Carolyne and Liszt apart, but we have seen that it is unlikely that this was the intention at this stage.

The subsequent recapitulation in both the Overture and published symphonic poems presents an almost identical repeat of the exposition, with the second subject naturally now transposed to the tonic C major. This represents a rather more traditional approach than we find in other symphonic poems, which often contain another rotational reworking of earlier material with new transformations in the tonic as at this point.

As in the exposition, the recapitulation in the Overture contains extra fanfares that are not found in the published score. Once more, these delineate structural divisions.

Accordingly, in the Overture there is an additional fanfare fragment directly before the *Allegretto* at bar 397, dividing the recapitulations of the first and second subject groups, just as it divided the first and second subjects in the exposition of both the Overture and Symphonic Poem. The fanfare at the equivalent place in the recapitulation does not, however, appear in the symphonic poem.

Transcription 5: *Festklänge* Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d)—Fanfare Fragment in the Recapitulation

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system consists of four staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The music is in 4/4 time. The second system also consists of four staves, with the top two in treble clef and the bottom two in bass clef. The third system consists of three staves, with the top two in treble clef and the bottom one in bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are also markings like 'Sua' and 'Sua' above some staves, and a circled 'S' in the third system.

And there is one final extra fanfare that is also peculiar to the Overture. It occurs just before the recapitulation of the polonaise melody, as it does in the second subject in the

Overture. This time it naturally appears transposed—centring on chords of E major instead of B major:

Transcription 6: Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d), Fanfare before recapitulation of ‘Polonaise theme’



With the addition of these three extra fanfares, the structure of the first draft of *Festklänge* was as follows:

Table 2: Structure of the Overture⁹⁸

Formal Section	Harmonic centre	Equivalent bar numbers in the published score
Introduction (Fanfare)	Ambiguous [Dominant 7 th of F Dominant 7 th of G]	bb. 1-70
1 st subject group	C major	bb. 61-106
Fragment of fanfare	Ambiguous [Dominant 7 th of E major]	bb. 106-115
Second subject group (theme 1) and transition	G major, modulatory	bb. 116-207
Fragment of fanfare	B major (very similar to previous fanfare)	None
Second subject theme 2 (polonaise)	G major	bb. 208-230
Development (opens with the fanfare and gradually becomes part of the development of Theme 1b at bb. 293-306).	Various	bb. 231-354
Recapitulation of First subject group	C major	bb. 371-396
Fragment of fanfare	Transitional Based on German 6th chord on A flat.	None
Transition into recapitulation of second subject	Modulatory	bb. 397-487
Fragment of fanfare	E major	None
Recapitulation of second subject proper	C major	bb. 488-511
Fanfare	B flat major	bb. 512-524
Coda	C major	bb. 525-end

As in the published version, the fanfares in the Overture serve to delineate the various sections and announce certain important ‘events’ within the sonata form. One of the main features that causes confusion for analysts and listeners is the tonal complexity and sheer

⁹⁸ The fanfares that are in bold are those that are peculiar to the first draft and do not appear in later drafts, or the published version.

length of the transition sections. The extra fanfares that occur in the Overture help the listener to penetrate the sonata form structure. Later on Liszt evidently wished to blur the boundaries a little more, and cut the three fanfares listed in bold in Table 2.

Both the overture and symphonic poem ended with a coda (bar 512 in the published score), based on material from the introduction and naturally heralded by a fanfare. In the Overture this is rather less extensive than the coda in the symphonic poem. Again this could be interpreted as another way in which the overture is more traditional. Once bar 534 is reached, the ending of the overture differs greatly from the published version:

Transcription 7: *Festklänge*, Overture Score (GSA 60/A7d)—the Original Ending

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the Overture of *Festklänge*. Each system consists of a vocal line (soprano) and a piano accompaniment (treble and bass staves). The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 4/4.

- System 1:** The vocal line begins with a half note G5, followed by quarter notes A5, B5, and C6. The piano accompaniment features a continuous triplet eighth-note pattern in both hands, with a *8va* marking above the right hand.
- System 2:** The vocal line continues with a half note D6, followed by quarter notes E6, F#6, and G6. The piano accompaniment maintains the triplet pattern, with a *8va* marking above the right hand.
- System 3:** The vocal line has a whole rest, followed by a half note G5, then a half note F#5, and a whole rest. The piano accompaniment continues with the triplet pattern, with a *8va* marking above the right hand.

Trombe

repeat?

Blech

The image displays a page of musical notation, likely for a piano. It consists of two main systems of staves. The first system has two staves (treble and bass clef). The second system has two staves (treble and bass clef). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are also some markings that appear to be crossed out or corrected, such as a large 'X' over the second system of staves.

The first system of musical notation is crossed out with a large 'X'. It consists of four staves. The top two staves (treble and bass clef) contain dense chords. The bottom two staves (treble and bass clef) contain a melodic line with triplets and a bass line with chords. The system is marked with a large 'X' across all staves.

The second system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top two staves (treble and bass clef) contain chords with triplets. The bottom two staves (treble and bass clef) contain a melodic line with triplets and a bass line with chords. The system is marked with a large 'X' across all staves.

The third system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top two staves (treble and bass clef) contain chords with triplets. The bottom two staves (treble and bass clef) contain a melodic line with triplets and a bass line with chords. The system is marked with a large 'X' across all staves.



Overall, the existing *Festklänge* manuscripts reveal that the piece initially contained clear markers of a straightforward, even in some respects conventional sonata form (although it still had some unusual features). There were two fewer themes, slightly shorter transitions, fanfares blatantly announcing the arrival of each new section in the sonata form, and a substantially shorter coda. There was also greater congruence between rhetorical and tonal features, which in turn reinforced the structure. Liszt was secure in his main thematic and structural ideas from an early stage—almost all of the revisions were made to transitional sections. This was perhaps typical of his method of working, for many of the revisions made to the *B minor Sonata*, written shortly before, were also in transitional sections.⁹⁹ It was as

⁹⁹ Sharon Winklhofer, *Liszt's Sonata in B minor: a Study of Autograph Sources and Documents* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1978), 173. Although Winklhofer says that it is not the case that the majority of revisions were made to transitional sections, she then proceeds to describe a series of revisions made to such sections.

these transitions grew more complicated and extensive that the ‘clarity’ of the structure as a whole was obscured.

The revision process detailed above caused the piece to evolve over time into something longer and more complex with a less simplistic sonata form structure. The rhetorical structure was emphasised and made to forestall the tonal structure. The main theme was now presented before the arrival of the tonic, and the climax of the piece occurred in the ‘wrong’ key before the recapitulation of the tonic. The new dialogue between the two structural levels was perhaps a comment on the traditional sonata form structure, and its clear structural and tonal exigencies in particular. It was revealed as an inadequate framework for the expressive demands of the symphonic poem, even though the work started life conforming to these exigencies as a traditional festival overture.

These added complexities were likely prompted by Liszt’s decision to include the work within the group of symphonic poems. The ‘improvements’ were criticised by his contemporaries, but Liszt’s own comments on forms that were ‘too often changed by respectable people into formulae’¹⁰⁰ suggest that it would have been undesirable to him to have published a truly conventional sonata form in the 1850s, even if he initially began with this template in mind for his *Festival Overture*. Nonetheless, even with the longer transitional sections, the tonal and rhetorical incongruence and the absence of “signposting” fanfares, the work still conforms more closely to a traditional sonata form structure than the other symphonic poems. And this also was noticed by Liszt’s contemporaries, even though their insights have been largely unacknowledged today.

The Variants to the score that Liszt published in 1861 (after the publication of the symphonic poem in 1856) suggest that he remained dissatisfied with the structure of the work. Not only do they include a new version of the second subject (for both the exposition

¹⁰⁰ La Mara, *Letters of Franz Liszt* Vol. 1, 273 (Letter 154 to Louis Köhler).

and recapitulation) in Polonaise rhythm throughout, suggesting a much stronger connection to Princess Carolyne, they also suggest an optional but substantial cut. Liszt proposes that the end of the second subject could cut straight to the beginning of the coda at bar 512. This would mean that the development and recapitulation would no longer be present, substantially removing the references to sonata form. The sole recapitulation would then be the apotheosis transformation of the main theme in the tonic. The recapitulation would then be similar to that found in *Tasso*, for example. The work would be much shorter with far less repetition, and the structure a simple binary form with jubilant coda. Overall, the structure suggested by the Variants follows the exigencies of sonata form far less closely, and therefore has more in common with the other symphonic poems.

The traditional structure of his *Festival Overture* therefore presented Liszt with a problem when incorporating it into his series of symphonic poems. He also had another difficulty to resolve: the fact that, as a tribute to Maria Paulowna and a cheerful overture suited to a light-hearted one-act play, the piece had no clear programme. Liszt's revisions to the Overture score, therefore, also involved inserting some rhetorical elements, particularly heightened contrasts that could be interpreted in programmatic terms. To this end Liszt inserted additional themes, topics, transformations, and tempo changes to hint at a programme that may not have existed.

Intriguingly, at one time Liszt did actually intend a preface to be composed for *Festklänge* and distributed at concerts (perhaps in response to criticisms from those such as Draeseke and Pohl). He wrote to Alexander Ritter towards the end of 1857 thanking him for writing a new preface to *Tasso*, which unfortunately appears now to be lost.¹⁰¹ It appears that Liszt also desired Ritter to write a 'poetic programme' for *Festklänge*: 'In particular I thank you very much for the pregnant and poetic form that you gave to the Tasso programme. Later

¹⁰¹ See Raabe, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 2, 298.

on, as you have broken the ice so well, we can move forward with [extract from *Festklänge*] and other suchlike corruptive things.’¹⁰² He does not hint at what the programme for *Festklänge* might be, and may well have left Ritter to imagine one himself.

Conclusion

Festklänge’s clear sonata form structure, lack of an explicit programme, and its jubilant, martial style were almost certainly the result of its origins as a festival overture to open the jubilee celebrations of Maria Paulowna. It was composed as a tribute to her, and as an appropriate overture to a celebratory or light-hearted play (in a similar manner to Weber’s *Jubel-Ouvertüre*). It appears, therefore, that this symphonic poem was influenced more by the requirements of Liszt’s work as Kapellmeister, and Weimar’s festival culture in particular, than by any programmatic subject, notwithstanding frequent suggestions to the contrary. Scholars continue to return to the ‘Hochzeitsmusik’ story, despite the fact that it is highly unlikely that Liszt’s thoughts were heading in this direction at the time when the piece was composed. Indeed, Liszt may have been so mysterious about the work’s programme simply because it would be awkward to admit that there was none. Yet, the work did contain a reference to Carolyne, and it was for this reason that Liszt returned to the piece when he believed he was soon to be married, and created a new version, with a whole section re-written in polonaise rhythm. It was the 1861 Variant, therefore, and not the initially published symphonic poem that was to be Liszt’s ‘Hochzeitsmusik’.

In other circumstances, Weimar commissions provided works that could easily find a place within the symphonic poem series. *Festklänge* may also have been associated with *Die Huldigung der Künste*, but this festival play contains little plot and is merely a tribute piece,

¹⁰² La Mara, *Franz Liszt’s Briefe* Vol. 1, 289. (Letter 190 to Alexander Ritter, 7 December 1857). The original reads: ‘Inbesondere sage ich Ihnen besten Dank für die prägnante und poetische Fassung, die Sie dem Programme zu Tasso gegeben. Späterhin, da Sie das Eis so glückliche gebrochen, können wir auch mit [extract from *Festklänge*] und anderem derartigen verderblichen Zeug in Stetting vorrücken!’

rather like the symphonic poem. As a result, *Festklänge* sits awkwardly within the series. It is not a piece of programme music fusing music with drama, painting or poetry, but simply an ambitious Festival Overture. Liszt did revise his first attempt, but differences between the work in its overture and symphonic poem guises are mainly structural. The same material appears, but certain aspects are obscured, highlighted, or excised. We have seen that Liszt apparently found the form a little too traditional for the series (as he had also regarded *Tasso* in its overture form). He complicated this by creating an incongruence between the tonal and rhetorical structures and by removing formal markers. In this way the work became less an overture closely in dialogue with sonata form, but more a symphonic poem commenting on the inadequacies of the sonata form model. He also heightened dramatic contrasts, and inserted an ‘apotheosis’ as he revised the piece, perhaps in an attempt to make it appear more ‘programmatic’. Yet, even in its ‘symphonic poem’ form, *Festklänge* remains a strange sibling for *Orpheus*, *Tasso* or *Hamlet*.

The care Liszt took with *Festklänge*, so different from his general approach to writing “official” festive music for Weimar, is probably testament to his renewed enthusiasm for his role in Weimar due to the imminent coronation of Carl Alexander. Yet, as the day of the premiere arrived it became clear to Liszt that he was required to provide an entr’acte rather than an overture, and *Festklänge* fitted some of his self-imposed stipulations—it was suitably bright and animated and it contained martial themes. Furthermore, it was precisely its lack of programme that made it so appropriate as an entr’acte; it could not be considered at odds with the poetic subject of the dramatic productions it would link together. Nonetheless, the experience of conducting the work as an entr’acte—to a presumably inattentive audience—appears to have irked Liszt enough to prompt him to write his article ‘Zwischenaktsmusik’. Consequently, the *Festklänge* premiere reveals some of the context against which this unusual article (so different from the other *Dramaturgische Blätter*) was composed. Liszt’s

programming choices for the jubilee celebrations allow us to experience his ideas in ‘Zwischenaktsmusik’ in practice. The premiere of *Festklänge*, therefore, enables us both to unravel some of his aesthetic views and shed light on some of the tensions affecting his position in Weimar.

To conclude, *Festklänge* was composed for Weimar and Maria Paulowna. Liszt’s duties as Kapellmeister crucially influenced the style, character and form of the piece. It may not incorporate the dramatic techniques of other genres (as in *Tasso*, *Orpheus*, or *Hamlet*), but it was conceived as a generic overture that would be appropriate for performance with comedies or other light-hearted stage genres. In this way, it too can be considered as a product of the Weimar stage, and, once again, a replacement for the opera he perhaps would have preferred to unveil at the jubilee. It was not originally a symbol of Liszt’s hopes of marriage to Carolyne, but rather a symbol of his hopes for Weimar.

Chapter Five: *Hamlet*: The Symphonic Poem as Melodrama

We have seen that from 1849 to '54 Liszt conducted several of his symphonic poems as overtures to dramatic works. Nonetheless, by the time he came to compose his final symphonic poem of the Weimar period, *Hamlet*, he was fully embarked on a campaign to establish his new genre, conducting these works in concert settings in which they were advertised as 'symphonic poems' and referring to this genre in the press and in correspondence.¹ It was highly unusual, therefore, that when he came to compose his last symphonic poem of the Weimar years Liszt returned to his former practices, giving *Hamlet* the subtitle 'Vorspiel [prelude] zu Shakespeares Drama' in an early draft of the piece. Yet, the implications of this peculiarity have never before been examined in Liszt literature. It is unlikely that *Hamlet* was ever performed as an overture to a Weimar production,² yet the subtitle seemingly encouraged the listener to hear the piece as an introduction to a (probably imagined) performance of the play. It placed the work in the context of the theatre, suggesting a relationship to a dramatic performance rather than a private reading of the text. Moreover, the piece itself reflected a new approach that had its origins in Melodrama: a genre in which spoken text is accompanied by music, and its antecedent, incidental music. This was prompted by Liszt's contact with particular actors during their guest appearances on the Weimar stage, most notably Marie Seebach and Bogumil Dawison, both of whom were indebted to the melodramatic style of acting that is associated with exaggeration and excess.

¹ See the Introduction for Liszt's first use of the term 'symphonic poem' in correspondence.

² The entry for *Hamlet* in the work list provided by Maria Eckhardt and Rena Charnin Mueller includes the remark 'composed for a private perf. of Shakespeare's play in Weimar, 25 June 1858, cond. Liszt'. See Maria Eckhardt and Rena Chanin Mueller, 'Liszt, Franz: Works', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (2nd edn, London, 2001), xiv: 833. Yet the information is not referenced and such a performance is not listed in Adolf Bartels's *Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters 1817-1907* (Weimar, 1908). The only mention of any performance in Liszt's correspondence is in a letter to Agnes Street-Klindworth written on 26 June 1858: 'Since I still needed one piece to make up the dozen for my Symphonic Poems..., I have just tossed off a *Hamlet*. We tried it out yesterday in the orchestra.' See Pauline Pocknell (ed.), *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: a Correspondence* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1999), 152. This suggests that the 'private performance' was in fact a rehearsal of the piece, and not a performance of the play. Indeed, the Hoftheater Beschäftigungs-Journale 1857-58 kept at the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hofbehörden 3128) records private performances given for the Grand Ducal family. A performance of *Hamlet* is recorded on 7 April 1858, but none in June.

Recently, Dan Wang has considered that the melodramatic mode may be related to Melodrama as a genre: that there may be something ‘inherently melodramatic about the simple joining of words and music.’³ This chapter will consider the influence of Melodrama on *Hamlet* from two main perspectives. Firstly, it will trace the influence of the conventions of staged Melodrama, and particularly the melodramatic acting style of Bogumil Dawison and secondly, it will examine the ways in which the symphonic poem is indebted to Melodrama as a musical genre in its many manifestations.⁴ It will also show how these two aspects of Melodrama are related.

This chapter will begin by examining the acting styles of Bogumil Dawison and Marie Seebach. Drawing on reviews of their performances, some of which Liszt himself attended, it will highlight the similarity of their performances to the melodramatic style. And it will argue that Dawison’s innovative interpretation of *Hamlet* led Liszt to treat the subject as a Melodrama with an imagined rather than declaimed text. It will then explore Liszt’s experiences of Melodrama as a musical genre in order to clarify his understanding and expectations of it. It will then attempt a melodramatic reading of *Hamlet*, highlighting features that Liszt associated with the genre. Therefore, once again, generic and stylistic signifiers from dramatic genres will be identified in order to clarify Liszt’s programmatic intentions (alongside an examination of the composer’s own comments on the piece). The form will also be analysed using Hepokoski’s rotational form once again, as this approach provides a useful means for understanding the large-scale structure based on repeated blocks of material in new transformations, and it can also be related to the genre of Melodrama, as shall be demonstrated.

³ Dan Wang, ‘Melodrama, Two Ways’, *19th-Century Music* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2012), 122-135 at 123.

⁴ These include the melodramatic ballad, the occasional use of Melodrama within opera or an incidental set, and in hybrid concert genres, such as those pioneered by Berlioz and Schumann.

Overall, the melodramatic reading of the piece will reveal a very close relationship between this symphonic poem and the theatre, even if the work itself can only be considered as retrospectively based on the Weimar production of *Hamlet* in which Dawson starred as the lead role in January 1856. The chapter will conclude by briefly examining the main revisions Liszt made to the work, focusing on the use of the term ‘Vorspiel’ on an early draft and the implications this has for the position of *Hamlet* within Liszt’s oeuvre.

***Hamlet* in Germany**

The nineteenth century saw new levels of enthusiasm for Shakespeare sweep across continental Europe. This had been growing since the second half of the eighteenth century among proponents of the Sturm und Drang movement in Germany, particularly Goethe, though Goethe’s belief that art should be beautiful and have a moralising effect led him to censor some of the more unsavoury parts of Shakespeare’s plays.⁵ In France, Shakespeare mania reached its full height with the performances at the Odéon by Kemble’s visiting English company in 1827 and ‘28. These were attended by many of Liszt’s circle, including Delacroix, Hugo, Vigny, Dumas, Sainte-Beuve, and, of course, Berlioz. *Hamlet* in particular, became one of the most popular of Shakespeare’s creations with both Goethe⁶ and the French Romantic school.⁷

In Germany, nineteenth-century portrayals of *Hamlet* were informed by the idealised but artificial ‘Classical style’ of acting popular in Germany at the time, which had been handed down from Goethe.⁸ One of its most famous proponents, Goethe’s own Hamlet, Pius Alexander Wolff moved gracefully between different postures reminiscent of those in

⁵ See Simon Williams, ‘Shakespeare and the Weimar Court Theatre’ in *Shakespeare on the German Stage* Vol. 1: 1586-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 88-107.

⁶ See Roger Paulin, ‘Wilhelm Meister and Shakespeare’ in *The Critical Reception of Shakespeare in Germany 1682-1914* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2003), 215-227.

⁷ Helen Phelps Bailey, *Hamlet in France: from Voltaire to Laforgue* (Switzerland: Librairie Droz, 1964), 54.

⁸ See J. L. Styan, *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice 1: Realism and Naturalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 46 for a brief account of the classical style common at the time.

painting or sculpture.⁹ This style, which was concerned primarily with beauty and harmony, continued to be popular for generations after Goethe's death, partly because of the popularity of the writer himself.¹⁰ It was particularly prevalent in Weimar, the place where Goethe and Schiller had developed it. Significantly some of the Weimar company, including the actor and stage manager Eduard Genast, could remember acting under these eminent directors.¹¹ During Liszt's time Genast was responsible for coaching Weimar's actors and would surely have promoted the continuation of the style he had learned from Goethe.

Goethe's views also informed the popular German conception of *Hamlet* at the time, in which the character was presented almost without exception as a weak, sentimental dreamer and procrastinator.¹² Such portrayals partly stemmed from Goethe's views on the play, set down in his novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*. At one point a company of actors who are performing *Hamlet* discuss the merits of the novel and the drama, how they differ from each other, and how *Hamlet* has some of the characteristics of a novel:

But in the novel, it is chiefly *sentiments* and *events* that are exhibited; in the drama it is *characters* and *deeds*. The novel must go slowly forward; and the sentiments of the hero, by some means or another, must restrain the tendency of the whole to unfold itself and to conclude. The drama on the other hand, must hasten, and the character of the hero must press forward to the end; it does not restrain, but is restrained... These considerations led them [the company] back to the play of *Hamlet*, and the peculiarities of its composition. The hero in this case, it was observed, is endowed more properly with sentiments than with a character; it is events alone that push him on; and accordingly the piece has in some measure the expansion of a novel.¹³

This interpretation informed many portrayals of Hamlet, including those by Josef Wagner and Emil Devrient. Liszt had seen Josef Wagner perform the role in 1847 and was acquainted with Devrient.¹⁴ Devrient's Hamlet was 'passive'¹⁵ and represented 'slow,

⁹ Marvin Rosenberg, *The Masks of Hamlet* (Newark; London: University of Delaware Press; Associated University Presses, 1992), 100.

¹⁰ Beth Osnes, *Acting: An Encyclopaedia of Traditional Culture* (ABC-CLIO, 2001), 125.

¹¹ See Eduard Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Robert Lutz, 1904) for Genast's reminiscences of this.

¹² Peter Kollek, *Bogumil Dawison: Porträt und Deutung eines genialen Schauspielers* (Kastellaun, Henn, 1978), 163.

¹³ J. W. von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, Book V (The Harvard Classics Shelf of Fiction: P. F. Collier & Son, 1917), 185-6.

¹⁴ See Eckhardt and Liepsch, *Franz Liszt's Weimarer Bibliothek*, 72, which lists a copy of *Shakespeare-Galerie, Illustrationen zu Shakespeare's Dramatischen Werken* (Leipzig: pub. unknown, 1847) among Liszt's library. A

agreeable, prudent pathos'¹⁶ with 'charm and elegance'.¹⁷ He brought both Goethe's classical acting style and his conception of Hamlet to his interpretation of the role. According to Rosenberg, 'He made the role fit his style: smooth, graceful, beautiful, free of indecorous violence. He played for pathos, for touching without disturbing his audiences.'¹⁸

A similar concern with beauty and regularity is also found in the Schlegel and Tieck Shakespeare translations, which were enormously popular at the time and continued to influence subsequent translations in the nineteenth century and beyond.¹⁹ The verse of the Schlegel/Tieck translations was flexible, smooth and pleasing to the ear. In fact, the need for harmony prevalent in German theatres at the time led the translations to smooth away the coarser aspects of Shakespeare's language.²⁰ Liszt does appear to have referred to *Hamlet* in English,²¹ but his weak grasp of the language²² meant that he would have relied heavily on translations. He certainly knew the Schlegel/Tieck translation. Indeed, Bogumil Dawison used it when he appeared in *Hamlet* at Weimar. He probably also knew the popular French Le Tourneur translation. Again, like Schlegel and Tieck, Le Tourneur eliminated several of Shakespeare's puns, obscenities and sudden changes of dramatic atmosphere.²³ These sanitised versions of Shakespeare and their emphasis on beauty and harmony would have

gift from the publisher and bookseller B. F. Voigt, it contains handwritten annotations of the cast list from the December 1847 performance of *Hamlet* in Weimar in which Josef Wagner played the title role.

¹⁵ Simon Williams, *German actors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: idealism, romanticism and realism* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood, 1985), 102.

¹⁶ Ibid., 101.

¹⁷ Ibid., 102.

¹⁸ Rosenberg, *The Masks of Hamlet*, 100.

¹⁹ See Werner Habicht, 'The Romanticism of the Shlegel-Tieck Shakespeare and the History of Nineteenth-Century Shakespeare Translation' in Dirk Delabastita and Lieven D'Hulst (ed.), *European Shakespeares: Translating Shakespeare in the Romantic Age* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993), 26-45 for an examination of this translation and its influence.

²⁰ See Williams, *Shakespeare on the German Stage* Vol. 1, 151-2 for a brief account of the advantages and criticisms of this influential translation.

²¹ In a letter to his mother dated 26 July 1835 Liszt asked her to send him his 'Shakespeare, in English. 1 vol. Byron, ditto. 1 vol.' See Adrian Williams (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 43. (Letter 37).

²² See Joanne Cormac, 'Liszt, Language and Identity: a Multi-National Chameleon', *19th-Century Music*, forthcoming 2012/13.

²³ See Dirk Delabastita, *There's a Double Tongue: An Investigation into the Translation of Shakespeare's Wordplay with Special Reference to Hamlet* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1993), 338.

further contributed to Liszt's expectations of the role of Hamlet and how it should be portrayed.

Overall, the classical acting style, Goethe's views and the Schlegel/Tieck translation itself, all contributed to an interpretation of *Hamlet* concerned with beauty and elegance. Accordingly, critics, such as Emil Knetschke, expected portrayals to strive for a passive, sweetly melancholic Hamlet, and would be critical of actors who moved away from this traditional interpretation.²⁴ It was in this context that Liszt experienced Dawison's very different conception of the role.

Dawison and a Melodramatic Interpretation of *Hamlet*

Liszt first met Bogumil Dawison when the latter came to Weimar in January 1856 to give a series of guest performances.²⁵ Polish by birth, Dawison built a career mostly in Germany. He was most famous for performing such roles as Shylock, Mephistopheles, Richard III, and Hamlet. His meeting with Liszt seems to have marked the beginning of a friendship, for the two artists corresponded at least from 1857 to 60.²⁶ Significantly, this period saw Liszt compose not only *Hamlet*, but also the first of his Melodramas. Dawison addressed Liszt affectionately in these letters as 'Mein vortrefflicher Freund!'²⁷ [My excellent friend!], using the intimate 'Du' form to declare 'Ich bleibe Dir treu und liebe Dich wie ein Bruder'²⁸ [I remain loyal to you and love you like a brother]. A small collection of unpublished letters from Dawison to Liszt held at the Goethe and Schiller Archive show that

²⁴ Knetschke, 'Bogumil Dawison', *Deutsche Schaubühne*, 6 (1861), 58.

²⁵ See Pauline Pocknell, *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: a Correspondence* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1999), 81.

²⁶ There are four letters in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar from Dawison to Liszt dated from this time, of which only one has been published in La Mara, *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt* (Leipzig, 1895, 1904), ii: 147-48.

²⁷ La Mara, *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, ii: 147 (letter 92, 28 December 1857).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, ii: 148.

Dawison tended to inform Liszt of travel plans before visiting Weimar to give guest appearances. His letters suggest that he was received at the Altenburg on these occasions.²⁹

Liszt's letters reveal that he greatly admired Dawison's acting style and found him particularly effective as a declaimer of Melodrama. In a letter to Johann von Herbeck regarding a performance of the *Prometheus Chorus* he suggested, 'it is desirable that you should get an adequate tragic declaimer. In Dresden Dawison undertook this'.³⁰ Indeed, Dawison regularly gave solo recitals at charity benefits, offering climactic scenes from some of his most famous roles. In September 1857, for example, at the celebrations of the centenary of the Grand Duke Carl August's birth and the inauguration of the Goethe and Schiller monument in Weimar, Dawison performed excerpts from Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* and Goethe's *Faust*.³¹ Such recitations were common at the time, and actors generally drew on roles that they were known for performing on stage.³² Liszt was present on this occasion, conducting a concert of his works the following day.

Dawison's dramatic solo recitation inevitably led him to performing Melodramatic Ballads: a recitation of a poem given by an actor, usually with piano accompaniment. This genre was highly popular during the nineteenth-century. Professional performances would often take place in a concert setting, and, occasionally, 'magic lantern' slides would be projected. The collection of slides might be sold afterwards for domestic use.³³ Liszt's melodrama *Lenore* (1857) achieved much success in the concert hall. Among many other

²⁹ See GSA 59/12,5, particularly the letter of 30 October 1858.

³⁰ Translation in La Mara, *Letters of Liszt* Vol. 1, trans. Constance Bache (London, 1894), 401 (Letter 220 to Johann von Herbeck, 11 October 1859). The original reads: 'Für das verbindende Gedicht, welches ich auch beifügen werde, ist es wünschenswerth, dass Sie einen *entsprechenden* tragischen Declamator gewinnen. In Dresden übernahm Dawison diese Aufgabe'. See La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe*, 333. (Letter 220 to Johann von Herbeck)

³¹ Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters 1817-1907* (Weimar, 1908), 120.

³² See David Mayer, 'Parlour and Platform Melodrama' in *Melodrama: the Cultural Emergence of a Genre* ed. Michael Hays and Anastasia Nikolopoulou (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996), 220.

³³ See Mayer, 'Parlour and Platform', 225. Of course Liszt also considered the possibility of projecting slides during performances of his *Dante Symphony*.

performances, it was declaimed by Dawison in Prague in May 1860 and was well-received.³⁴ Overall, Liszt's experience of Dawison as an actor was largely in the context of his solo recitations. It was, therefore, fitting that he dedicated his Melodrama, *Helges Treue* (arranged from Felix Draeseke's song setting), to Dawison.

A closer examination of Dawison's acting style immediately reveals why Liszt found the actor so effective as a declaimer of Melodrama. It is also clear that his experiences of Dawison's acting would have contrasted greatly to the style with which Liszt was familiar in Weimar.

Alongside the popularity of the classical acting style, a new school began to grow up in the first half of the nineteenth century that was initially concerned with a more realistic approach,³⁵ though the results were associated with excess and exaggeration: the so-called melodramatic style. This was primarily popular in England and France, but also elsewhere in Europe and America. Melodrama is often used as a pejorative term, but has recently received renewed scholarly interest. Peter Brooks's *The Melodramatic Imagination* has been significant in altering perceptions of the genre. Brooks has shown that stage Melodrama of the nineteenth century was an important influence on writers such as Balzac and Henry James. He provides a detailed definition of this genre as it grew up in the popular theatres of France at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Brooks argues that Melodrama is characterised by excess and heightened dramatisation, moral polarisation, and inflated and extravagant expression. This last characteristic is concerned with a need for clarity. The

³⁴ *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 52/19 (4 May 1860), 170.

³⁵ See Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 49-53 for a discussion of the relationship between melodrama and naturalism.

actor's exaggerated gestures and facial expressions, the use of stereotyped, uncomplicated characters and the music itself all contribute to this.³⁶

Several acting manuals were published in the nineteenth century offering detailed guidance. The aim was for actors to achieve a new and heightened degree of naturalism. The importance of gesture was particularly privileged. One of the most famous, Johann Jacob Engel's *Ideen zu einer Mimik*, first published in 1785-6, and then in an English translation (*Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action*) in 1822, provides detailed examples of appropriate gestures to convey the whole gamut of emotions. It is emphasized that these gestures are based on life and the book is illustrated with numerous examples to copy, including 'pride', 'hauteur', 'phlegm', and 'idiotism'. The object is clarity and dramatic expression, and this is achieved through the use of various gestures, facial expressions and the inflection of the voice all working together. Yet, with such techniques also came a danger of over-gesticulation and exaggeration.

Dawison was a highly successful actor, but his style was not to everyone's taste, precisely because it had much in common with the style prescribed in these manuals. He was 'praised for fieriness and natural speech',³⁷ noted for his 'aggression and energy',³⁸ and the 'immediacy and potency' of his stage presence.³⁹ This was closer to the melodramatic style than to Emil Devrient's more elegant, almost choreographed technique of Goethean classicism. In fact, Dawison was criticised by Eduard Devrient for his 'moderne Englische Manier' as contributing to the degradation of German acting.⁴⁰ At the time an English style of

³⁶ Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 37 and 47.

³⁷ Simon Williams, *German actors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: idealism, romanticism and realism* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood, 1985), 100.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁴⁰ Eduard Devrient, 'Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Eduard Devrients über Darstellungen Shakespearescher Rollen: Karl Seydelmann als Shylock; Bogumil Dawison als Hamlet', *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 68 (1932), 146.

acting would have been associated with naturalism⁴¹ and perhaps also with the style imported to the continent by Kemble's visiting English company in 1827-28. These actors exaggerated their gestures and facial expressions to portray nuances of feeling, heighten the sense of drama, and to create a sense of clarity, partly because they were acting in English to a predominantly French-speaking audience.⁴² Violaine Anger has suggested that the result was an acting style similar to that of the popular boulevard theatres where Melodrama was often performed.⁴³

Certainly, the English company's exaggeration of gesture allied with the expressive use of the voice is similar to that described in handbooks on rhetorical gesture:

the raising or sinking of the voice—by a pronunciation more slow and more imposing—or by a particular tone, marked and emphatical, on the *word* indicating the *idea* peculiarly worth of this distinction...*action* or *gesture* will certainly have the same effect; as, for example, the hand spread out, the arm extended to its full length...The gently striking of one hand against the other; a slight movement of the head, which indicates a wish to dwell on such or such a word: all these means may be employed to aid the elucidation of a particular idea⁴⁴

Expressive facial movements are also recommended:

The countenance is the principal seat of the movements of the soul—the most eloquent parts of the visage are the eyes, the eyebrows, the forehead, the mouth, the nose; in short, the *whole head*, as well as the neck, the shoulders, the hands, and the feet: there is no change of posture which may not have its particular expression or indication.⁴⁵

Reviews of Dawson's acting shows that his style was very similar to that described in these handbooks. He was known for his vocal flexibility and expressive face.⁴⁶ Descriptions of his acting in certain scenes from *Hamlet* provide excellent examples. In the 'play within a play scene' (Act III, Scene ii) his words apparently became 'more liverish and poisonous, his

⁴¹ Dennis Kennedy (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Theatre and Performance*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 925. Although the melodramatic acting style would not now be considered 'natural', at the time it offered a more realistic approach than the artificial classical style that was concerned more with elegance, dignity and beauty.

⁴² Violaine Anger, 'Berlioz's "Romeo au tombeau": Melodrama of the Mind' in *Melodramatic Voices: Understanding Music Drama*, ed. Sarah Hibberd (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 193.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁴⁴ Johann Jacob Engel, *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action adapted to The English Drama*, trans. Henry Siddons 2nd ed. (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1822), 18-19.

⁴⁵ Engel, *Practical Illustrations Of Rhetorical Gesture...*, 21.

⁴⁶ See Simon Williams, *German actors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, 101-2, and Eduard Devrient, 'Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Eduard Devrients über Darstellungen Shakespearescher Rollen...', 144.

eyes glowing, everything in him quaked and he finally jumped up with demonic laughter!’⁴⁷

Such a style must have seemed radical, even revelatory, to Liszt when he came to experience it, particularly compared to the classical acting style of Weimar. Eduard Devrient’s diary provides further examples. He made particularly detailed notes after having seen Dawson in *Hamlet* in Dresden in the summer of 1852. Devrient pays particular attention to Dawson’s use of the voice in Act 1, Scene v where he meets the ghost of his father:

uncertain, with more timid anticipation of the ghost, looking around etc., good, the address to the ghost, as if terror had taken his voice, babbling,—good, Garrick’s style of acting, if also not executed completely expertly. But then he should not cry “Angels and messengers of God!” with a strong voice...Here one should believe that he has peaked and so lost his voice. But the actor wants to preserve both effects, the power and the frailty, and does not respect the nature of the thing.⁴⁸

The reference to Garrick is interesting. He, of course, brought a new sense of realism to the English stage and used his body in performances demanding great physical exertion.⁴⁹

Dawson attempted to make every nuance of emotion clear, particularly through his voice, in a manner similar to that described by Robert Blackman in his *Voice, Speech and Gesture: a Practical Handbook to the Elocutionary Art*, which argues that ‘all modifications of attitude and motions of the body depend upon the promptings and co-operation of the mind, and should answer the inflections of the voice.’⁵⁰ Devrient’s account of Dawson’s acting frequently emphasizes the range of Dawson’s vocal expression. He notes Dawson’s ‘groaning exclamations’, for example, and the gradations of expression in his voice.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Peter Kollek, *Bogumil Dawson*, 166.

⁴⁸ Eduard Devrient, ‘Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Eduard Devrients über Darstellungen Shakespearescher Rollen...’ 144: ‘unsicher, mit furchtsamer Erwartung des Geistes, Umsehen usw., gut, die Anrede an den Geist, als ob der Schrecken ihm die Stimme genommen, lallend, - gut, Garricks Spielweise, wenn auch nicht ganz geschickt ausgeführt. Aber dann musste er auch nicht „Engel und Boten Gottes!“ mit stärkster Stimme schreien...Hier musste man glauben, er habe sich überschrien und so die Stimme eingebüßt. Aber der Schauspieler will sich beide Effekte konservieren, den der Kraft und den der Schwäche, und achtet der Natur der Dinge nicht.’

⁴⁹ Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1991). See particularly, ‘Garrick and Realism’, pp. 61-7.

⁵⁰ Robert D. Blackman (ed.), *Voice, Speech and Gesture: A Practical Handbook to the Elocutionary Art* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1908), 110.

⁵¹ Devrient, ‘Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Eduard Devrients über Darstellungen Shakespearescher Rollen...’, 144.

Most descriptions of Dawison's acting refer to his tendency for overstatement, which we might associate with the melodramatic style. Genast, who acted alongside him in the Weimar production of *Hamlet*, remembered how his portrayal of the shocked Hamlet feels on first being told of the appearance of his father's ghost was so excessive that it was not possible for him to seem any more shocked when he encountered the ghost itself.⁵² According to Gustav Freytag, this reaction to the ghost involved both gestural and vocal expression: he extended his hand to the ghost twice and drew back each time, uttering unarticulated sounds.⁵³ This is similar to Engel's description of how to suggest agitation and indecision in movement. Engel even suggests that these gestures could be used when portraying the character of Hamlet: 'the hands are agitated, and move themselves without design, now towards the bosom, now towards the head, the arms fold and loosen...'⁵⁴

With this constant aiming for dramatic expression, a common criticism of Dawison was that his overly elaborate acting drew attention away from the character and towards himself. Certainly, Devrient's diary entry suggests that Dawison put his desire to show off the range of his technique above a coherent interpretation of the role. He described Dawison's portrayal as an arrangement of brilliant moments, rather than a depiction of a whole character.⁵⁵ Overall his description of Dawison moving quickly from one expressive gesture to another is highly reminiscent of the melodramatic style of acting. Similarly, Gustav Freytag, again with reference to Hamlet's first encounter with the ghost, suggested that Dawison strained for effect to the detriment of his performance, claiming that: 'one notices the intention, one sees the work.'⁵⁶ And although Wagner did not name Dawison in the 1869

⁵² Eduard Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Robert Lutz, 1904), 355.

⁵³ Gustav Freytag, essay on Dawison in *Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Literatur, und Kunst*, Vol. 8 of first series of *Gesammelte Werke* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1920), 319.

⁵⁴ Engel, *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture...*, 60.

⁵⁵ Devrient, 'Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Eduard Devrients über Darstellungen Shakespearescher Rollen...', 144.

⁵⁶ Gustav Freytag, essay on Dawison in *Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Literatur, und Kunst*, 319. The original reads: 'man merkt die Absicht, man sieht die Arbeit.'

edition of his article, *Judaism in Music*, it is highly likely that the actor was the subject of the following passage:

a famous Jewish “character-player” not merely has done away with any representment of the poetic figures bred by Shakespeare, Schiller, and so forth, but substitutes the offspring of his own superficial (effektvollen) fancy that is not quite without an agenda (tendenzlosen)—a thing which gives one the impression as though the Saviour had been cut out from a painting of the crucifixion, and a demagogic Jew stuck-in instead.⁵⁷

Although the actor is not mentioned by name, the description of the Jewish character player, who controversially brought so much of himself to these celebrated roles, does seem consistent with what is known of Dawison’s practices.⁵⁸

Liszt’s appreciation of Dawison’s acting style and abilities as a declaimer may have influenced his revisiting the genre of Melodrama. It also seems that his friendship with another great actor of the time, Marie Seebach, further inspired his interest in this area. As well as appearing with Dawison at the 1857 Carl August Festival, Seebach visited Weimar at the beginning of January 1857. Adelheid von Schorn attended a party at the Altenburg at this time and remembered:

We were invited in honour of Marie Seebach, who was then making her first guest appearance in Weimar. As Gretchen she won all hearts and was much lionized. Looking very graceful, with beautifully chiselled features and a mass of fair, curly hair, she declaimed Hebbel’s *Heideknaben* that evening with great enthusiasm, Liszt accompanying her at the piano. It was the first time I had heard a Melodrama, and my impression then was that music and the spoken word rather hinder than help one another, even though Marie Seebach was one of the few who can speak musically.⁵⁹

According to a playbill held at the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Weimar, Seebach had also declaimed this Schumann setting along with *Schön Hedwig* in a concert at

⁵⁷ Translation of Richard Wagner, ‘Judaism in Music’ adapted from Richard Wagner, *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works Vol. III, The Theatre*, trans. William Ashton Ellis, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894), 83. The essay was originally published in 1858, but the above quotation was a note to the 1869 and later editions of the essay. The original text read: ‘ein berühmter jüdischer “Charakterspieler” stellte nicht mehr die gedachten Gestalten Shakespeare’s, Schiller’s u.s.w. dar, sondern substituirt diesen die Geschöpfe seiner eigenen effektvollen und nicht ganz tendenzlosen Auffassung, was dann etwa den Eindruck macht, als ob aus einem Gemälde der Kreuzigung der Heiland ausgeschnitten, und dafür ein demagogischer Jude hineingesteckt sei.’ Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (Leipzig, 1888), v: 70.

⁵⁸ Intriguingly, the index prepared by William Ashton Ellis for the volume of *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works* that contains this quotation shows that the translator clearly thought that this passage referred to Dawison, for the page is indexed: ‘Davison, Bogumil (actor), 83’. See William Ashton Ellis, *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works Vol. III, The Theatre*, Index.

⁵⁹ Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt: by Himself and his Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 333.

the court theatre on 7 January 1857, but with Hans von Bronsart playing the piano accompaniment. Liszt conducted his *Die Ideale* on this occasion.⁶⁰

Interestingly, in a review of this concert in *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Richard Pohl refers to Seebach as the ‘female Dawison’.⁶¹ Certainly, Genast’s comments on her performances in Weimar in January 1857 do suggest that her style, like Dawison’s, was noted for heightened gestural detail and flexibility of the voice. Genast mentions the ‘nuances’ in her portrayal of Gretchen in *Faust* and praises her natural countenance and speech. He found her delivery of the line “Er liebt mich!” innovative, remarking that most actresses accompany this line with a small jubilant cry, whereas Seebach whispered these words and this was accompanied by a tremor of her body. Yet, he also found the contrasts in the delivery of her speech a little jarring. In *Romeo and Juliet* he noticed that she spoke with ‘highest pathos’, but would quickly switch to a coy, naive conversational style when talking to the nurse. In her performance of *Maria Stuart* he praised the rhetorical and ‘plastic-mimetic’ parts of her performance.⁶² Overall, a highly nuanced, expressive melodramatic style is described, one that is certainly reminiscent of Dawison.

Both Liszt and Seebach seem to have enjoyed their informal performance at the Altenburg, for a letter from Seebach to Liszt written on 24 January 1857 suggests Liszt had agreed to compose two ballads for Seebach to declaim. The two ballads Seebach suggested were *Lenore* by Bürger and *Des Sängers Fluch* by Uhland.⁶³ We know, of course that Liszt did compose *Lenore*, and Seebach wrote again on 3 February 1859 thanking him for the composition.⁶⁴ Yet, Seebach did not declaim the work in public. Lina Ramann suggests that

⁶⁰ See http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/receive/ThHStAW_archivesource_00026015?jumpback=true&maximized=true&page=/009753.tif&derivate=ThHStAW_derivate_00044160 [accessed 19/06/2012]

⁶¹ *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 4, 23 January 1857, 42.

⁶² See Eduard Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 358.

⁶³ La Mara, *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, ii: 105 (from Marie Seebach, 24 January 1857).

⁶⁴ La Mara, *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, ii: 204 (Letter 130 from Marie Seebach, 3 February 1859)

she may have found the accompaniment too intrusive.⁶⁵ In the end it was Franziska Ritter who declaimed the work at its premiere in Leipzig at the Tonkünstler-Versammlung on 4 June 1859. Nonetheless, Liszt's direct experience of Seebach's melodramatic style, coupled with that of Dawison, does seem to have ignited his interest in the Melodramatic Ballad as a genre.

Overall, the highly dramatic, expressive style of Dawison and Seebach powerfully contrasted the classical style of acting with which Liszt was familiar in Weimar. It presented a new and intense approach associated with Melodrama. Liszt had never before experienced such a style and it fired his imagination. His correspondence shows that he greatly admired both actors and found their style particularly effective for melodramatic declamation, evidenced in the composition of *Lenore* and the dedication of *Helges Treue*. Yet, in addition to introducing him to a new style of acting, Dawison also presented Liszt with a new way of interpreting Shakespeare's play: as Melodrama.

Dawison's *Hamlet*

One of the key differences between Melodrama and tragedy are the two-dimensional, stereotypical characters of the former. Robert Bechtold Heilman suggests that in tragedy we find the characters have an 'inner conflict', whereas in Melodrama the conflict is 'between men, or between men and things'.⁶⁶ Brooks also highlights the difference between melodramatic and tragic soliloquies, suggesting that the latter involve attempts to resolve an impossible dilemma, whereas melodramatic soliloquies are 'pure self-expression', an opportunity to express who the character is and exactly how he or she feels.⁶⁷ Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, one of the most celebrated examples of tragedy, famously focuses on the inner

⁶⁵ Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2 (Leipzig, 1880-94), 364.

⁶⁶ Robert Bechtold Heilman, *Tragedy and Melodrama* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1968), 79.

⁶⁷ Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 38.

dilemma of its title character. There is little action, but long stretches of dialogue in which Hamlet weighs up his possible alternatives. As such, it perhaps does not immediately lend itself to musical interpretation. Certainly, this view seems to have been taken by Wagner. Cosima Wagner recorded in her diaries: 'In the evening R. plays my father's *Hamlet* with Lusch⁶⁸ as a piano duet and says it arouses the impression of a dishevelled tomcat lying there before him...Coming back to *Hamlet*, R. says: 'Musicians should not concern themselves with things that have nothing to do with them. *Hamlet* offers nothing to Musicians.'⁶⁹ Yet Dawson's interpretation of Hamlet was less concerned with the dilemma of the character, and presented him as a decisive figure. In doing so he brought the tragedy closer in line with Melodrama.⁷⁰

There are many detailed accounts of Dawson's approach to the role. His Hamlet completely contrasted with popular 'Goethean' portrayals of the time in Germany, the most famous being that given by Emil Devrient, in which the character was presented as a weak, procrastinating, sentimental dreamer.⁷¹ Devrient's Hamlet, imbued with the classical style, was 'passive'⁷² and represented 'slow, agreeable, prudent pathos'⁷³ with 'charm and elegance'.⁷⁴ In contrast, Dawson suppressed these characteristic attributes. His Hamlet was 'active and certain in his goals'.⁷⁵ His interpretation was based on long neglected references to Hamlet as a warrior, skilled in swordsmanship.⁷⁶ Consequently, his Hamlet was

⁶⁸ Pet name for Daniela von Bülow (1860-1940), daughter of Cosima and her first husband, Hans von Bülow. Step-daughter of Wagner.

⁶⁹ Cosima Wagner, *Diaries*, Vol. ii, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton Collins (St James's Place: London, 1980), 1 May 1879, 300.

⁷⁰ Indeed, this would not have been the first time that Dawson changed the emphasis, and, in doing so, affected the perceived genre of a Shakespearian play. For his Weimar performance of *The Merchant of Venice* he insisted that the whole of Act 5 was cut, thereby turning Shylock into the central character, and the whole play from comedy to tragedy. See Kollek, *Bogumil Dawson*, 134.

⁷¹ Kollek, *Bogumil Dawson*, 163.

⁷² Williams, *German Actors*, 102.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁷⁶ Kollek, *Bogumil Dawson*, 164.

‘aggressive, not overcome by inner weakness’.⁷⁷ He did not procrastinate through indecision, but waited because he wanted to consider all the possible consequences of the act of murdering Claudius.⁷⁸

Liszt’s letters show that he was very much aware of Dawson’s conception of *Hamlet*. The actor was engaged as a ‘guest star’ by the Weimar Court Theatre from 9 to 14 January 1856, performing *Hamlet* on 9, Carlos in *Clavigo* on 11 followed by *Bonjour* in *Wiener in Paris*, Mephistopheles in *Faust* on 13, and Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* on 14.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Williams, *German Actors*, 103.

⁷⁸ Kollek, *Bogumil Dawson*, 164.

⁷⁹ Bartels, *Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters*, 113.

Figure 1: Playbill from Weimar production of *Hamlet* 9 January 1856

Anfang dieser Vorstellung um 6 Uhr.

Hof-Theater.

Weimar, Mittwoch den 9. Januar 1856.

Bei aufgehobenem Abonnement:

Hamlet,
Prinz von Dänemark.

Trauerspiel in fünf Akten, nach Shakespeare, von Schlegel.

Claudius, König von Dänemark,	Dr. Wolkowa.
Hamlet, Sohn des vorigen und Neffe des gegenwärtigen Königs,	Dr. Senast.
Polonius, Oberkämmerer,	Dr. Jendersky.
Horatio, Hamlets Freund,	Dr. Grans.
Laertes, Sohn des Polonius,	Dr. Lemaitre.
Rosenkranz, { im Gefolge des Königs,	Dr. Knopp.
Güldenstern, {	Dr. Wehnig.
Marcellus, { Offiziere,	Dr. Schmeißer.
Bernardo, {	Dr. Höfer.
Der Geist von Hamlets Vater,	Dr. Stör.
Gertrude, Königin von Dänemark, Hamlets Mutter,	Fr. Dollinger.
Ophelia, Tochter des Polonius,	Fr. Frank.
Erster { Todtengräber,	Dr. Hettstedt.
Zweiter {	Dr. Häser.
Ein Schauspieler,	Dr. Koch.
Francisco, ein Soldat,	

Personen im Schauspiel:

Der König,	Dr. Stromeyer.
Die Königin,	Fr. Hettstedt.
Lucianus,	Dr. Häser.
Herren und Damen vom Hofe, Offiziere, Pagen, Schauspieler.	

* * * Dr. Bogumil Dawison, vom Königl. Hof-Theater zu
Dresden — Hamlet — als Gast.

Preise der Plätze:

Fremden-Loge	1 Thlr. 10 Sgr.	Parterre-Loge	— Thlr. 25 Sgr.
Balkon	1 " — "	Parterre	— " 15 "
Sperrloge	1 " — "	Gallerie-Loge	— " 10 "
Parquet	— " 20 "	Gallerie	— " 7 1/2 "

Anfang um 6 Uhr. Ende gegen halb 10 Uhr.

Die Billets gelten nur am Tage der Vorstellung, wo sie gelöst worden.

Der Zutritt auf die Bühne, bei den Proben wie bei den Vorstellungen, ist nicht gestattet.

Das Theater wird um 5 Uhr geöffnet.

Die freien Entrées sind ungültig.

A letter from Liszt to Agnes Street-Klindworth written on 18 January 1856 has previously led Liszt scholars to believe that he attended Dawison's performance of *Hamlet*:

When I got back to Weimar I found Dawison there. He is a *great artist* and there is an affinity between his virtuosity and mine. He creates while reproducing. His conception of the role of Hamlet is completely new.⁸⁰

But another letter to his partner, Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, proves that Liszt could not in fact have been present. He was in Berlin on 7 January attending the premiere there of *Tannhäuser*. On 8 January (the day before *Hamlet* was performed) he wrote to the Princess from Berlin, explaining that he had been invited to a court reception by the King and would be extending his stay, lamenting that, 'It is therefore necessary that I must remain here until tomorrow, it is with some regret that I must miss Dawison's *Hamlet*'.⁸¹ Basing her comments on several other Liszt letters, Pauline Pocknell confirms that 'Liszt returned to Weimar with his daughters on January 10',⁸² so he may have seen Dawison perform in the other plays given that week.

Liszt may not have seen Dawison portray *Hamlet* on this occasion (and indeed there is no record of his having seen Dawison in a staged performance of *Hamlet* at all), but the letter to Agnes shows that Liszt and Dawison met and discussed the actor's conception of the play, and that Liszt was highly enthusiastic about it. It is highly likely that Dawison was received at the Altenburg; Dawison's unpublished letters to Liszt suggest they were close friends, and he took care to inform Liszt of future visits to Weimar. Indeed, it was a common occurrence for Liszt to invite distinguished visitors to his home. It is intriguing to speculate whether the two men performed a Melodramatic Ballad together at the Altenburg, as Liszt would do with Marie Seebach in 1857.

⁸⁰ Translation in Pauline Pocknell, *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: A Correspondence*, 81: 'À mon retour à Weymar j'y ai trouvé Dawisson. C'est un grand Artiste et il y a de l'affinité entre sa virtuosité et la mienne. Il crée en reproduisant. Sa conception du rôle de Hamlet est tout à fait neuve.' in Pocknell *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth*, 322.

⁸¹ The original reads: 'Il est donc nécessaire que je reste jusqu'à demain, quelque regret que j'aie de manqué le Hamlet de Dawison.' La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe*, iv, 295 (Letter 212).

⁸² Pocknell, *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth*, 82.

Liszt's comments on his meeting with Dawison show that he greatly admired his interpretation and found it highly original. Interestingly, the great detail of his remarks suggests that he was paraphrasing Dawison himself:

When I got back to Weimar I found Dawison there...His conception of the role of Hamlet is completely new. He does not take him for an idle dreamer collapsing under the weight of his task, as he has been viewed conventionally ever since Goethe's theory (in *Wilhelm Meister*), but rather for an intelligent, enterprising prince, with high political aims, who *waits* for the propitious moment to avenge himself and to reach at the same time the goal of his ambition, by having himself crowned in his uncle's place. Obviously the latter result could not be achieved in the conventional twenty-four hours.⁸³

Such a reading turned the emphasis of the play away from the tragedy of a soul divided, to a Melodrama about a wronged Prince trying to find the perfect moment for vengeance. There is no evidence to suggest that Liszt had considered composing a piece based on *Hamlet* before he met Dawison. It was Dawison's melodramatic interpretation that made a musical setting possible. As well as changing the emphasis of the play, Dawison brought his unique style to its performance. His acting conveyed clarity and dramatic emphasis, lessening the delicate subtleties of the play. He removed *Hamlet* from its Romantic censorship and turned it into something more immediately thrilling and gripping: something from the world of Melodrama. It was, therefore, a partly imagined performance of the play as a Melodrama that inspired the symphonic poem, and this is evident in its musical style.

Liszt's Conception of Melodrama in Music

So far, Melodrama has been considered primarily in its theatrical manifestation: as a type of drama with a simple plot and uncomplicated characters who appear in highly-charged emotional situations. The associated style of acting, which is synonymous with exaggeration, has also been explored. Accordingly, Dawison's acting style and his original manipulation of

⁸³ Translation in Pocknell, *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth*, 81-2 of: 'À mon retour à Weimar j'y ai trouvé Dawisson...Sa conception du rôle de Hamlet est tout à fait neuve. Il ne le prend pas comme un songe creux succombant sous le poids de sa mission ainsi qu'on est convenu de l'envisager depuis la théorie de Goethe (dans *Wilhelm Meister*) mais bien comme un prince intelligent, entreprenant, à hautes visées politiques, qui *attend* le moment propice pour accomplir sa vengeance et toucher à la fois au but de son ambition en se faisant couronner à la place de son oncle. Ce dernier résultat ne pouvant évidemment pas être atteint dans les 24 heures' in Pocknell, *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth*, 322.

the plot and characterisation within the play have been identified as the impetus for Liszt interpreting *Hamlet* as Melodrama rather than tragedy.

As a musician, however, Liszt would largely have understood Melodrama as a genre in which speech is accompanied by music. He may well have associated this genre with the melodramatic style of acting; the two share common features, as shall be explained, and are united in genres such as the Melodramatic Ballad. His general understanding of Melodrama, however, would largely have been influenced by the examples he knew from opera, incidental music, and hybrid concert genres. Accordingly, the following section will attempt to identify how Liszt would have conceived of Melodrama as a musical genre, and it will then apply this conception to the symphonic poem *Hamlet*. It will begin with a concise history of the genre in order to identify its main characteristics and how far it had developed when Liszt encountered it, and will then concentrate on specific examples that would have had an important influence on Liszt's understanding of it.

Jacqueline Waeber has traced the genesis and development of this genre in its many manifestations in her extensive study, *En musique dans le texte; le melodrama, de Rousseau à Schoenberg*.⁸⁴ She begins with Rousseau's *Pygmalion* (1770), which is widely acknowledged as the first Melodrama. Text alternates with music in this early Melodrama; they are not heard simultaneously,⁸⁵ and the musical matter itself is fragmented and based on repetition rather than exhibiting forward goal-oriented development.⁸⁶

After *Pygmalion* the next highly influential examples of the genre are the Melodramas of Georg Benda. Waeber's study shows in detail how Benda developed the genre, building on the style and techniques found in *Pygmalion*. Benda presented music and text occasionally

⁸⁴ Jacqueline Waeber, *En musique dans le texte; le melodrama, de Rousseau à Schoenberg* (Paris: Van Dieren Éditeur, 2005).

⁸⁵ Ibid., 19.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 19-22.

simultaneously and gave music a greater role in supporting the narrative. This was made possible through reminiscence motifs (lending greater continuity to the musical accompaniment),⁸⁷ the use of music as a means of moving the action between real and imagined worlds and different times (and blurring these worlds and times),⁸⁸ distinguishing (sometimes imagined) voices⁸⁹ and playing a vital role in moments of emotional excess; the points where the story reaches a crisis point⁹⁰ (here the role of music links to the melodramatic acting style of Dawison and others).

Based on her study of these early Melodramas, Waeber puts forward the features outlined above as defining characteristics of the genre. These features were then disseminated in related genres throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, and naturally are defining features of the Melodramas that Liszt knew.

Other writers have paid more attention to the distinction between Melodrama in its French and German manifestations. J. Van der Veen has compared the popular staged Melodramas of Paris to the more 'elite' variety in Germany. He demonstrates that French Melodrama developed from pantomime in the popular theatres and was aimed primarily at the working classes. In contrast, German Melodrama developed from the dramatic ballet, operatic recitative, and incidental music. The music accompanying German Melodrama was more closely united with the declamation than that of France, which was more concerned with supporting the pantomime.⁹¹ Waeber's discussion tends to consider genres that developed from the more elite German type, including the Melodramatic Ballad and other semi-staged concert genres developed by Berlioz and Schumann. These genres would have been particularly well known to Liszt, as well as the occasional use of Melodrama in opera

⁸⁷ Ibid., 57.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 77.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 93-94.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 95-7

⁹¹ See J. Van der Veen, *Le Melodrame Musical de Rousseau au Romantisme: Ses Aspects Historiques et Stylistiques* (The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1955), 61.

and incidental music, notably Beethoven's *Egmont*. All of these genres draw on the ideas developed by Rousseau and Benda.

Autonomous staged Melodrama (as opposed to the occasional use of the genre within opera) largely died out in the nineteenth-century.⁹² Yet, the popular French type began to be exported to the US and UK later on in the century and has recently begun to receive attention from scholars such as Ann Dhu Shapiro.⁹³ The musical language of this type of Melodrama was often formulaic, drawing on stock clichés in order to create appropriate atmospheres quickly and effectively and to introduce stereotyped characters. For example, Fiona Ford informs us that the villain was 'typically announced by tremolo strings sustaining diminished triads'.⁹⁴ Furthermore, Shapiro has found that music in Melodrama had several functions: to accompany mimed action and emphasise emotional speech, to signal entrances and exits, to camouflage changes of scene, and to enhance a sense of spectacle and further the plot. Reminiscence motifs were common. These were often imbued with specific meaning.⁹⁵

Overall, the purpose of music in all of these manifestations of Melodrama was to contribute narrative clarity, dramatic emphasis, and expression—goals similar to those of the melodramatic acting style. Although the Melodramas that would have influenced Liszt are rather more sophisticated and less formulaic than the popular manifestations, there are many common features that both types share, and we will see that these features also appear in Liszt's own Melodramas and in *Hamlet*.

Before engaging in his most significant attempts in the genre, Liszt closely studied certain Melodramas in the context of incidental music performed on the Weimar stage. He would, of course, have been familiar with the Wolf's Glen scene in Weber's *Der Freischütz*,

⁹² Waeber, *En musique dans le texte; le melodrama, de Rousseau à Schoenberg*, 105.

⁹³ For example, see Ann Dhu Shapiro, 'Action Music in American Pantomime and Melodrama, 1730-1913', *American Music*, 2/4 (1984), 49-72.

⁹⁴ Fiona Ford, 'Be it [N]ever so Humble? The Narrating Voice in the Underscore to *The Wizard of Oz* (MGM, 1939)' in *Melodramatic Voices* ed. Hibberd, 198.

⁹⁵ Shapiro, 'Action Music in American Pantomime and Melodrama, 1730-1913', 65.

with the Dungeon scene in Beethoven's *Fidelio*, with Mendelssohn's music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with Beethoven's music to *Egmont*, the *Ruins of Athens* (we have seen that he conducted an extract from the set, the famous 'Turkish March', as an entr'acte during the 1849 *Torquato Tasso* production) and *King Stephen*.⁹⁶ He was also heavily involved in productions of innovative hybrid genres, such as Schumann's *Manfred* and Berlioz's *Lélio*, both of which contain spoken text accompanied by music. Several of these works were also the subject of articles written for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and later published by Lina Ramann as *Dramaturgische Blätter*. In these articles, Liszt makes it clear that the works under discussion have been chosen because they had a significant impact as pioneering explorations into the fusion of music and drama.

Although Liszt was disparaging of his music,⁹⁷ it is highly likely that Marschner's operas also had an important influence on Liszt's conception of Melodrama. Liszt knew Marschner personally and *Der Vampyr* and *Hans Heiling* were highly popular at the time and were performed in Weimar on several occasions during Liszt's tenure.⁹⁸ The playbills for these performances do not specify the conductor, but Liszt was in Weimar at the times of performance. Although Liszt may not have admired Marschner's music he would have been very familiar with the sound world of *Hans Heiling* and *Der Vampyr* and their famous use of Melodrama. Equally, the operas of Boieldieu were also performed frequently at Weimar and these too contain Melodrama in places.

Liszt may also have initially experienced some of Wagner's music dramas as Melodrama, with the composer accompanying himself at the piano and half singing, half

⁹⁶ It is possible that Liszt may also have known Beethoven's music to *Leonore Prohaska*, which also contains some Melodrama, though it does not appear to have been performed at Weimar.

⁹⁷ Williams, *Selected Letters*, 381. (Letter 310 to Princess Wittgenstein, 23 July 1854)

⁹⁸ *Der Vampyr* was performed in Weimar on 26 January 1850 and on 23 March 1850. *Hans Heiling* was performed on 21 December 1856 and on 11 January 1857. See the playbills on <http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/content/main/search-playbill.xml> for details.

speaking the vocal parts.⁹⁹ Finally, Liszt would have known Schumann's Melodramatic Ballads. In fact, Lina Ramann suggests that they may have provided a fruitful model for Liszt's own.¹⁰⁰ The original treatment of text and music in each of these works may well have peaked Liszt's interest and contributed to his understanding of the genre before he made his own attempts in it.

Liszt's first attempt at composing Melodrama came in 1850 with the composition of the choruses for Herder's *Der entfesselte Prometheus* that he composed along with an overture for the Herder festival that year. The antique choruses alternated with the actors' speech. Liszt was not entirely satisfied with the form of *Prometheus*, and attempted to turn the choruses into something more accessible for performance by asking Richard Pohl to write a connecting text, which could be recited in between each chorus.¹⁰¹ According to John Williamson, 'isolated bars punctuated dialogue' in the 1850 version, but they disappeared from the Pohl version.¹⁰² After this early interest, Liszt did not revisit the genre until 1857, when he composed his first Melodramatic Ballad, *Lenore*.

Significantly, it was in the years immediately following his first experiences of Dawson's and Seebach's acting styles that Liszt composed the majority of his Melodramas. These included *Lenore* (1857-8), *Vor hundert Jahren* (1859), *Der traurige Mönch* (1860), and *Helges Treue* (arranged 1860).¹⁰³ *Lenore*, *Der traurige Mönch*, and *Helges Treue* are all Melodramatic Ballads: settings for declamation and piano accompaniment. *Helges Treue* is slightly unusual in that it was arranged from Felix Draeseke's song, which Liszt greatly

⁹⁹ See David Trippett, 'Bayreuth in Miniature: Wagner and the Melodramatic Voice', *The Musical Quarterly*, 95 (1) (2012), 71-138.

¹⁰⁰ Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vol. 2, Part 2, 359.

¹⁰¹ See Paul Bertagnolli, 'From overture to symphonic poem, from melodrama to choral cantata: Studies of the sources for Franz Liszt's "Prometheus" and his "Chore zu Herder's 'Entfesseltem Prometheus'"', Ph.D. diss. (Washington University, 1998), 30-31 and 38-9.

¹⁰² John Williamson, 'The Revision of Liszt's *Prometheus*', *Music and Letters* Vol. 64, No. 4 (1986), 389.

¹⁰³ Liszt also composed two more melodramas later on (*Des toten Dichters Liebe* in 1874 and *Der blinde Sänger* in 1875-7). Liszt completed *Hamlet* long before this, so they will not form part of this discussion.

admired.¹⁰⁴ Liszt's version takes the main themes and intersperses them with spoken text. He only occasionally inserts his own new music (see Examples 3a and 3b). Liszt made his arrangement at a time when he was most interested in Melodrama, and the lyrics of the song are highly appropriate to Melodramatic Ballad, but still it is striking that Liszt was motivated to make this arrangement.

Helges Treue, as mentioned above, is dedicated to Dawison. Liszt dedicated *Der traurige Mönch* to Franziska Ritter, probably because she frequently recited his Melodrama Ballads.¹⁰⁵ Dawison often did the same, and this probably motivated Liszt to dedicate one to him; Draeseke's song provided an easy way of doing this. It also enabled Liszt to create more exposure for Draeseke himself, as Melodramatic Ballads were often performed in domestic situations, as we have seen. Liszt's arrangement would have brought Draeseke's name to a wider audience. Equally, Liszt may have associated the tragic figure of Helge with Dawison. His adaptation made it possible for Dawison to perform Draeseke's work, as Dawison was not a singer. Finally, in dedicating the Melodramatic Ballad to Dawison, Liszt also drew parallels between himself and the actor (with whom he had much in common both personally and artistically) for Draeseke had dedicated the song to Liszt. All of these factors likely contributed in some way to Liszt's decision to make the arrangement.

Vor hundert Jahren (unpublished) was a commission for the 1859 Weimar Schiller festival. As mentioned in Chapter One, it is a staged Melodrama based on a text by Friedrich Halm, which calls for five actors playing the roles of 'Germania', 'Poesie', and the three fates. The declamation of these characters is accompanied by an orchestra. Naturally, it is rather longer than the Melodramatic Ballads, and it also differs greatly in terms of its subject

¹⁰⁴ La Mara, *Franz Liszts Briefe* Vol. 1, 330. (Letter 218 to Louis Kohler, 3 September 1859)

¹⁰⁵ We have already seen that Ritter gave the first performance of *Lenore*. Interestingly, *Lenore* is not dedicated to anyone. Liszt may have wanted to dedicate this Melodramatic Ballad to Ritter, but he probably chose not to for diplomatic reasons: it had, of course, originally been written for Marie Seebach, though she chose not to perform it.

matter. Liszt's Melodramatic Ballads generally deal with supernatural tales traditionally associated with the genre, occasionally drawing on myth and sometimes involving a moral lesson. *Vor hundert Jahren*, on the other hand, is a celebration of Schiller's life and work, based mainly on biographical details.

Text and Gesture

The Melodramas that Liszt knew contained a number of common features. One of the most important is that music is closely allied to both speech and gesture. In the dungeon scene in *Fidelio* (Act II, Scene i, No. 12) a demi-semiquaver figure imitates Leonora's shivers in the cold dungeon, whilst a dominant 7th chord of F major supports her question, 'Ihr meint es?', and a reassuring F major tonic accompanies Rocco's answer, 'Nein, nein, er schläft.' Similarly in the Wolf's Glen scene in *Der Freischütz* (Act II, Scenes iv-vi) a harsh tritone chord coincides with Casper driving a blade into a skull. This close alliance of music, text, and gesture resulted in the increasing use of musical pictorialism. In the melodramatic dream sequence in *Egmont* (No. 8) Klärchen shows Egmont her quiver of arrows and this is echoed by a rising arpeggio figure in the strings, suggesting an arrow being released. Bleak, unison string chords also suggest Egmont's imminent execution. Furthermore, Laura Tunbridge has shown that in Schumann's *Manfred* ('Abschied von der Sonne' No. 13) the dying away of each phrase seems to represent the setting of the sun.¹⁰⁶

Music is also closely aligned to both speech and action in the Melodrama of Act 1, no. 5 of *Der Vampyr*. In this scene, Aubrey finds the vampire, Lord Ruthven, who has just been stabbed by Berkley. Lord Ruthven asks Aubrey to carry him into the moonlight so he can heal. Aubrey realises that Lord Ruthven is a vampire, but he is made to swear to keep this secret for twenty-four hours, otherwise he too will be transformed. The dialogue is

¹⁰⁶ See Laura Tunbridge, 'Schumann's *Manfred* in the Mental Theatre', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 15/2, 2003, 176.

accompanied throughout by highly atmospheric music. It begins with muted horns and low strings and gradually becomes more intense, crescendoing through rising sequences and increasingly thicker scorings as Aubrey is made to swear. The accompaniment is highly suggestive of Aubrey's agitation and the growing drama of the scene. Crescendoing woodwinds repeating a staccato figure join the texture as Aubrey climbs a rockface, dragging Ruthven into the moonlight. Descending winds then depict Aubrey fleeing and the music gradually returns to the calmer texture of horns and low strings as Lord Ruthven heals. All of this reveals strong links to the techniques of Melodrama, such as the use of music to support the narrative and to express emotionally-charged scenes, both of which can be traced back to Benda.

An extension of musical pictorialism is the use of easily recognisable topics, such as fanfares or hunting calls. A trumpet fanfare is found in the *Egmont* Melodrama, suggesting the liberation of the Netherlands. Equally, in *Manfred* we hear a pastoral topic representing the music of the Alps (in No. 4, 'Alpenkuhreigen') and the requiem at the end (No. 15, 'Schluss-Szene') suggesting Manfred's redemption after death.¹⁰⁷ Liszt confided to Richard Pohl that there were a couple of numbers from the *Manfred* music that he particularly admired. Pohl calls these 'Alpenfee' and 'Astarte'.¹⁰⁸ By Alpenfee he was doubtless referring to No. 6: 'Rufung der Alpenfee'. This particular Melodrama is based on delicate Mendelssohnian-style fairy music— something that Liszt also praised in his article on Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.¹⁰⁹ This style was possibly an influence on *Lenore* in which we hear an eerie take on Mendelssohnian fairy music in the section marked *Sehr schnell* where the text refers to an 'airy mob dancing'.

¹⁰⁷ Here Schumann's use of topic confers his own interpretation of Manfred's end and differs from Byron's text.

¹⁰⁸ Wolfgang Seibold, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt: im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenz und Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main; Oxford: P. Lange, 2005), 234.

¹⁰⁹ Franz Liszt, 'Ueber Mendelssohn's Musik zum Sommernachtstraum' in *Franz Liszt Sämtlich Schriften: Vol. 5 Dramaturgische Blätter* ed. Detlef Altenburg (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), 25.

Ex. 1a: Liszt, *Lenore*, bb. 166-169



Here, whether consciously or not, Liszt particularly seems to reference Mendelssohn's *Capriccio in F sharp Minor* (Opus 5) in style, key and tempo. This work does not have a programmatic title, but it does exhibit the 'fairy style' nonetheless.

Ex. 1b: Mendelssohn, *Scherzo a Capriccio* in F sharp minor, bb. 1-4



In Schumann's *Ballade vom Haideknaben*, based on a text by Friedrich Hebbel, low register tremolos mirror the blowing wind and rustling leaves (bars 24-5 and 70-77). Equally, in his *Schön Hedwig* a jubilant topic opens the piece, suggesting a festival. It returns as the knight asks Hedwig to marry him. On the whole, however, Schumann's Melodramatic Ballads convey the general atmosphere and dramatic tensions of the poem, rather than specific details. Liszt's Melodramas reveal a greater interest in musical pictorialism than Schumann's. For example, a march and fanfare are used at the beginning of *Lenore* to depict the soldiers returning from war, whilst repeated quavers suggest the people hurrying out to greet them.

Ex. 2: Liszt, *Lenore*, bb. 5-14

Und jedes Heer, mit Sing und Sang, Mit Paukenschlag und Kling und Klang,
Aujourd' hui, c'est la paix; partout des chants de fête Célébrent des guerriers

Allegro.

Geschmückt mit grünen Reisern, Zog heim zu seinen Häusern.. Und überall,
la dernière conquête. Les voici!

all - überall, Auf Wegen und auf Stegen, Zog Alt und Jung dem Jubelschall Der Kommenden entgegen.
Les voici! parés de rameaux verts... Et pour les recevoir, tous les bras sont ouverts.

un poco cresc.

f

We also have extensive sections of ‘galloping music’ as Lenore takes a wild midnight ride with death disguised as her lover. There was already a certain amount of musical pictorialism in the piano accompaniment of Draeseke’s song setting, *Helges Treue*, but Liszt’s arrangement heightened this. Much of the arrangement is taken directly from the song, but Liszt composed a new section of ‘galloping music’ for the section of the text that refers to King Helge riding to find his beloved Sigrun. The equivalent section in Draeseke’s song contains no such onomatopoeic effects.

Ex. 3a: Draeseke, *Helges Treue*, bb. 219-224

wild der Ritt! Wie klang - voll häm - mert des

Heng - stes Tritt! Es

Ex. 3b: Liszt, *Helges Treue*, bb. 121-126

wie wild der Ritt, — Wie klangvoll hämmert des Heng

stes Tritt,

Generally, the music of Liszt's Melodramas reacts closely to its text, creating many onomatopoeic effects. Musical pictorialism is much more commonly found in his Melodramas than his symphonic poems, which tend to offer a more generalised depiction of their subject matter (*Hamlet* and to a lesser extent, *Mazeppa*, are exceptions). He seems to have understood this as one of the main characteristics of musical Melodrama.

Mise-en-scène

A close relationship between music and text is crucial, as the musical accompaniment of Melodrama often depicts something that is being described to us that we cannot see. This is particularly true of the Melodramatic Ballad in which a narrator often relates a story. The actors, of course, will use gesture to make the narrative come alive, but the music is often called upon to replace the missing visual element.

Music enhances *mise-en-scène* in *Der Freischütz*. The Wolf's Glen scene is introduced by the chorus of spirits, accompanied by ominous tremolo strings that build to a crescendo and then die away when the chorus enters. The chorus itself has a monotonal figure reminiscent of chanting. At times it imitates an owl hooting with a diminished 7th figure: 'U-hu-i!' Then, also introduced by diminished 7th chords, Samiel appears accompanied by a nervous string figure and the Melodrama begins. Even though there are extensive instructions regarding the 'horror-film' scenery, the music plays an important part in setting the scene. Later on, timpani rolls also suggest thunder outside.

The Wolf's Glen scene clearly had a strong influence on Marschner's *Der Vampyr*, which was highly popular during Liszt's time. This can be recognised most clearly in the Witches' Sabbath scene, which also begins with a chorus chanting an often monotonal figure. Instead of 'U-hu-i!' the chorus repeats the refrain 'jo ho jo ho jo ho!' to octave leaps on F sharps against C naturals in the bass, creating a tritone interval. All of this, as in *Der*

Freischütz aptly sets the sinister, supernatural scene before the melodrama begins and the Vampire speaks accompanied by sustained tritones and tremolos. Equally, Gertrude's melodrama in Act Two of Marschner's *Hans Heiling* captures the storm outside through ominous chromatic osinati and tremolos. All three of these highly characteristic Melodramas create a very similar sound world that seems to have caught Liszt's imagination, particularly as he came to create the mise-en-scène of *Hamlet*, as shall be considered below.

Without the elaborate scenery of opera, music naturally plays an even more important part in setting the scene in Melodramatic Ballads. This is particularly true of *Der traurige Mönch*, probably now the most famous of Liszt's Melodramatic Ballads owing to the extensive use of the whole-tone scale. The bleak dissonances based largely on augmented triads and repeated whole-tone scales, and the chordal texture centred on the lowest registers of the piano, appropriately depict the setting: the grey tower in Sweden which the sad monk inhabits.

Ex. 4: Liszt, *Der traurige Mönch*, bb. 1-4



In fact, the introduction is rather long (17 bars in a relatively sedate tempo). The music, therefore, out of a need to set the scene, is initially prioritised over the text, leaving the reciter with very little to do, except, perhaps, strike a suitable pose. Later on blustering chromatic scales also suggest the whipping wind.

Reminiscence motifs

In Melodrama musical pictorialism is often used to underpin something in the text. Reminiscence motifs are also common and fulfil a similar function. They might introduce a character and then naturally return when that character reappears. They could also be used to comment on the action or provide the listener with extra information. In the Dungeon Scene in *Fidelio* an Andante con moto motif alternates with Rocco's instructions regarding the work that needs to be done. This motif was heard previously in the ensemble section that intersperses the chorus of prisoners (Act I, No. 10) when Rocco first asks Leonora to help dig Florestan's grave. Reminiscence motifs are also used in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and in *Manfred*.¹¹⁰

Reminiscence motifs are a common device in all of Liszt's Melodramas and, of course, of his symphonic poems. Yet in the Melodramas reminiscence motifs are not usually developed as they are in the symphonic poems. They do not have a narrative function in terms of furthering the plot or suggesting some sort of transformation of characters or events. They are simply used for emphasis. The opening four bars of *Lenore* contain two motifs that recur separately later on in the setting and seem to reflect Lenore's curse on God and her fate.

Ex. 5a: Liszt, *Lenore*, bb. 1-4



¹¹⁰ In *Manfred* they seem to take on extra meaning. Often motifs are similar to those heard earlier, but are not exact repeats. This technique is a fitting way of suggesting the central plot idea of Byron's dramatic poem: Manfred's attempts to forget the sin he has committed. It is only when the figure of his lover Astarte reappears to him that an exact repeat of her theme is heard. This is also heard again on Manfred's death.

The music suggestive of the midnight ride also returns at points indicated by the text, sometimes very slightly altered but always immediately recognisable. These recurring motifs provide the audience with an anchor, functioning in a similar way to the repeated refrains of Bürger's text, or the 'ritornellos' in the opera fantasies.

Helges Treue retains the thematic material of Draeseke's song, but in Liszt's arrangements these fully-fledged themes are cut down to short motifs, often of only two bars in length. This suggests that Liszt thought short motifs more appropriate to Melodrama than extended themes. The motifs are inserted in amongst the text to remind us of a character or an event. An exception occurs in *Der traurige Mönch*, in which a reminiscence motif is altered to suggest a change in a character. In this piece the rising whole tone figure depicts the monk from the opening bars. It recurs in a much faster tempo and in a higher register just before the monk appears to the rider, suggesting his immediate terrifying presence, whereas earlier the slower tempo and lower register suggested that we were seeing this sepulchral figure from a distance. At the end of the poem we hear the same whole tone scales of the opening, falling a tone each time, but on even crotchets (rather than in the rhythm of Ex. 4). The slightly altered figure underlines the narrative of the text: the monk's sadness has been transferred onto the rider:

Ex. 5b: Liszt, *Der traurige Mönch*, bb. 79-82



Voices

The music of Melodrama, possibly as a result of its origins in pantomime, often suggests different characters or voices through the use of contrasting sonorities.¹¹¹

Accordingly, the Melodrama in *Egmont* supports Klärchen's mime, and suggests her absent voice. Matthew Head has observed that the woodwinds and horns generally refer to Klärchen. They are used in the music depicting her death and return to represent her in the Melodrama,¹¹² whilst the sleeping Egmont is depicted by the strings.

The different voices of *Lenore* are not particularly well distinguished in Liszt's music. There is a narrator, as well as dialogue between Lenore, her mother and death in disguise as Lenore's lover. Lenore's voice is perhaps delineated in dialogue with her mother by the hysterical *Allegro strepitoso* music and the ensuing reminiscence motifs.

¹¹¹ See John Warrack's comments on the use of tone colour in *Der Freischütz* in John Warrack, *Carl Maria von Weber* 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 221-234 and Violaine Anger, 'Berlioz's "Romeo au tombeau": Melodrama of the Mind', 190.

¹¹² See Matthew Head, 'Beethoven Heroine: A Female Allegory of Music and Authorship in *Egmont*', *19th-Century Music*, 30 (2006), 113.

Ex. 6: Liszt, *Lenore*, bb. 21-28

Allegro strepitoso.



Die Mutter lief wohl hin zu ihr:—
 „Ach, dass sich Gott erbarme!
 Du trautes Kind, was ist mit dir?“
 Und schloss sie in die Arme.—
 „O Mutter, Mutter! hin ist hin!
 Nun fahre Welt und alles hin!
 Bei Gott ist kein Erbarmen.

„Enfant! ma chère enfant! lui dit sa tendre mère;
 Je comprends le sujet de ta douleur amère;
 Que Dieu, le Tout-Puissant, prenne pitié de toi!“
 —Lénore sanglota.— „Mère, je n’ai plus foi
 Dans la bonté d’un Dieu qui cause ma souffrance.
 Malgré moi, je succombe à la désespérance;
 Hélas! hélas! J’ai vu passer mes plus beaux jours,

O weh, o weh mir Armen!“
 Puisqu’un destin cruel a ravi mes amours!..“

Langsam.



We have seen that in *Der traurige Mönch*, the rider loses his diatonic ‘voice’, to be engulfed by the monk’s dissonance. It is only in *Helges Treue* that two different voices are effectively distinguished. This is a device of Draeseke’s that Liszt retained in his arrangement. At one point in the ballad Helge is tempted by a ‘white-breasted war-virgin’. She attempts to woo him with a lyrical melody, which Helge parodies in his refusal. The two voices are made even clearer in Liszt’s setting as, without the need to retain singable consistency of register for the vocal part, the voices can be distinguished using opposing registers of the piano and contrasting textures; A lyrical melody accompanied by broken chords suggests the war-virgin, whereas harsh chords depict Helge.

Ex. 7: Liszt, *Helges Treue*, bb. 77-80 (Voice of the war-virgin)

Sie hielt das Horn, sie trank ihm zu:

sempre dolcissimo

una corda

8 Mein schlanker Held, nun trinke Du! 8

sempre dolcissimo

Ex. 7b: Liszt, *Helges Treue*, bb. 81-85 (Helge's voice)

König Helge, der trank nicht.

(Mässig bewegt.)

„Und liebten mich hundert Jungfrau'n heiss,
Wie die Hirschkuh schlank, wie das Schneehuhn weiss,
Ich hübe mein Auge kaum,

The supernatural

The subject matter of Liszt's Melodramas suggests that he associated the genre with the depiction of the supernatural. This has an historical grounding. From the 17th century it became common for stage music to accompany scenes associated with supernatural beings or

worlds, the invocation of magic, or apparitions.¹¹³ This custom gained more emphasis and grew more elaborate in the nineteenth century and this was an important precursor of Melodrama. In incidental music Melodrama is frequently associated with the supernatural. The Wolf's Glen scene provides an important example. Samiel, the dark huntsman, only ever speaks and this is often accompanied by music. This is also true of the Vampire Master in Marschner's *Der Vampyr*. Furthermore, Melodrama features in The Wolf's Glen Scene whilst Caspar creates the magic bullets using a spell. Several melodramatic signifiers can be found here. Samiel is associated throughout with diminished 7th chords, and diminished 7ths also determine the tonal trajectory: the intervallic movement between sections spells a diminished 7th. Tremolo strings are also much in evidence to portray the eerie, evil atmosphere of the Wolf's Glen, and the instrumentation choices of low register strings, clarinet and bassoon reinforce this. Similar instrument choices create a comparable effect in the Witches' Sabbath scene in *Der Vampyr*. Finally, Mendelssohn in his music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* only used Melodrama in scenes associated with fairy characters, and Melodrama in Schumann's *Manfred* mainly appears in scenes involving invocation of spirits or other events associated with the supernatural.

Liszt's Melodramas use similar melodramatic conventions to those in the Wolf's Glen and the Witches' Sabbath scenes to convey their supernatural subject matter, except that Liszt's harmonies are rather more dissonant and experimental than Weber's or Marschner's. Diminished 7ths, diminished triads, chromatic figures and tritones pervade *Lenore*. In fact, much of the music is based on a figure consisting of a tritone followed by two rising semitones. *Der traurige Mönch* uses the signature tremolos of Melodrama to suggest the presence of the ghost. Augmented triads and the whole tone scale are prioritised here, and they seem to suggest the monk's grief. Liszt also places more emphasis on tremolos than

¹¹³ See Roger Savage, 'Incidental Music' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (2nd edn, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), xii, 142.

Draeseke in his arrangement of *Helges Treue*—suggesting that he thought this device highly appropriate for Melodrama.

Vor hundert Jahren, as a tribute to Schiller, is for the most part grounded in the real world. Yet there is one scene that Halm incorporated for dramatic effect. It centres on the fates of Greek mythology, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. They are seen spinning the thread of Schiller's life, predicting that he will achieve glory, but will die young. This scene, with its supernatural resonances, obviously captured Liszt's attention, for it is one of the only scenes for which he composed new music: the 'Parzenlied'.¹¹⁴ It contains many melodramatic signifiers, including generous use of diminished 7ths and string tremolos.

¹¹⁴ For the most part the rest of the music is based on arrangements of popular tunes suggested by Halm.

Transcription 1: Liszt, 'Parzenlied' from *Vor hundert Jahren* (GSA 60/ G3a)

The musical score is for Liszt's 'Parzenlied' from the opera 'Vor hundert Jahren'. It is a transcription for a symphony orchestra. The score is written in 2/4 time and B-flat major. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The tempo is marked 'Allegretto'. The score is divided into two systems. The first system includes Violin II and Viola. The second system includes Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet in B-flat (Cl. in B Flat), Violin I (Vln. I), and Viola (Vla.). The Violin II and Viola parts feature a continuous sixteenth-note pattern, marked with a '6' and a slur. The Flute, Oboe, and Clarinet in B-flat parts have a 'Solo' section, marked with a 'p' (piano) and a slur. The Violin I and Viola parts also feature a continuous sixteenth-note pattern, marked with a '6' and a slur. The score is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign at the beginning of the second system.

Violin II

Viola

Fl.

Ob.

Cl. in B Flat

Vln. I

Vla.

p con sord.

p con sord.

Solo

p

p

p

6

6

6

6

6

6

6

6

3

Fl.

Ob.

Cl. in B Flat

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

p

Solo

p

p

pizz.

5

Fl.

Ob.

Cl. in B Flat

Bsn.

Solo

p

Vln. I

p

Vln. II

p

Vla.

6

Vc.

6

Cb.

6

Fl.

Ob.

Cl. in B Flat

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

The musical score for measures 6 and 7 is as follows:

- Flute (Fl.):** Rest in both measures.
- Oboe (Ob.):** Rest in both measures.
- Clarinet in B Flat (Cl. in B Flat):**
 - Measure 6: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
 - Measure 7: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
- Bassoon (Bsn.):**
 - Measure 6: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
 - Measure 7: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
- Violin I (Vln. I):**
 - Measure 6: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
 - Measure 7: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
- Violin II (Vln. II):**
 - Measure 6: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
 - Measure 7: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
- Viola (Vla.):**
 - Measure 6: Rapid sixteenth-note passage, marked with '6' and a slur.
 - Measure 7: Rapid sixteenth-note passage, marked with '6' and a slur.
- Violoncello (Vc.):**
 - Measure 6: Rapid sixteenth-note passage, marked with '6' and a slur.
 - Measure 7: Rapid sixteenth-note passage, marked with '6' and a slur.
- Contrabass (Cb.):**
 - Measure 6: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.
 - Measure 7: Quarter note Bb, half note Gb, quarter note Fb.

[illegible]

9

Fl.

Ob.

Cl. in B Flat

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

pp

pp

pp

Negotiating Between Real and Imagined or Dream Worlds

The typical subject matter of Melodrama often necessitated transitions between different worlds (sometimes imagined) and times. Sarah Hibberd suggests that music was often called upon to transport us between them.¹¹⁵ In his music to *The Ruins of Athens*, Beethoven creates a vivid nightmarish view of Turkey and Orientalism in his dervish choruses, which is contrasted with a dreamlike, idealistic view of Hungary in the Melodrama (No. 5) praising the beauty and majesty of Pest. The use of jingling percussion, open fifths and chromatic neighbour notes all create a menacing image of exoticism. The

¹¹⁵ Hibberd, 'Introduction' in *Melodramatic Voices*, 8.

accompaniment to the Melodrama, in contrast, is based on the variation of a simple, serene, lyrical theme. The 6/8 time and general character of the melody has a pastoral feel, which contributes to the idealistic depiction of Pest. Beethoven, therefore, uses contrasting topics: the exotic and the pastoral, to move between different worlds.

An effective way of moving between real and imagined worlds is to use music indicative of incidental 'offstage' music, which gives a diegetic effect. For example, Matthew Head has suggested that the repeated drum motif at the end of the Melodrama in *Egmont* wakes us from Egmont's dream and to the present reality of his imminent execution.¹¹⁶ Such a technique is reminiscent of 'off-stage' or 'realistic' music that is incidental to many plays, and reflects this important precursor of Melodrama. Similarly, Liszt imitates a 'real' sound to negotiate between 'real' and supernatural worlds in *Lenore*. Bells striking midnight presage Lenore's first 'supernatural' vision.¹¹⁷

Mosaic structures

We have seen that the music of Melodrama reacted sympathetically to the text, closely following changes in mood or events. This could lead to a lack of formal continuity, just as Dawson's acting style was described as a series of brilliant moments lacking a sense of 'wholeness'.¹¹⁸ Consequently, an absence of tonal direction is often found in Melodrama, created by chains of atmospheric but unrelated chords instead of functional progressions and cadences. Furthermore, we often find sequences of repeating ostinato figures, as in the Wolf's Glen and Witches' Sabbath scenes and Gertrude's Melodrama in *Hans Heiling*. Similar structures can also be found in Schumann's ballads *Schön Hedwig* and in the *Ballade vom Haideknaben*, particularly in the latter where the intensity grows towards the end. 2-bar and

¹¹⁶ Head, 'Beethoven Heroine: A Female Allegory of Music and Authorship in *Egmont*', 123.

¹¹⁷ The analysis of *Hamlet* as a Melodrama will demonstrate that Liszt also suggested a clock striking twelve in the symphonic poem to create a similar effect.

¹¹⁸ See Devrient, 'Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Eduard Devrients über Darstellungen Shakespearescher Rollen...', 144.

then 1-bar blocks are repeated, often in rising sequences as we reach the culmination of the action.

Ex. 8: Schumann, *Ballade vom Haideknaben*, bb. 80-89

ist es geschehen, wie ist es geschehen? „Er zog ein Messer!“ – War das, wie dies? „Ach

ja, ach ja!“ Er zog's? – „Und stiess“ – Er stiess dir's wohl so durch die Kehle? Was

hilft es auch, dass ich dich quäle?

All of Liszt's Melodramas rely on this technique of repetition, particularly in sections where a lot of dialogue is to be conveyed. The entirety of *Lenore* is based on repeated 2-bar or 4-bar phrases. Different ostinatos are used in the various sections, but as mentioned above, they are often made to fit the basic pattern, tritone, semitone, semitone. On the whole, the music is formed from short characteristic motifs rather than themes.

Ex. 9: Liszt, *Lenore*, bb. 244-249

Nun tanzten wohl beim
Les esprits de la nuit

Monden - glanz, Rund um her - um im Kreise, Die Geister
confusément dansèrent; Puis, pour chanter un chœur,

Equally, *Der traurige Mönch* is mostly constructed from 2-bar or 4-bar motifs that are repeated. And we have seen that the themes of Draeseke's song are cut into short motifs by Liszt, often interspersed by unaccompanied text or sustained chords. Finally, the 'Parzenlied' of *Vor hundert Jahren* is constructed out of segments based on short motifs, which are repeated in sequence and then return to their original transposition. This creates a sense of musical stasis. The purpose of this music is to create a sense of atmosphere and the use of short motifs, rather than themes, allows the text to be privileged.

Overall, Liszt's experiments in Melodrama from 1858 to '60 suggest that, for him, the genre contained certain characteristic features, which are also found in the other Melodramas with which he came into contact in Weimar. His experience of Melodrama was largely in the context of incidental music for staged works. Accordingly, the music of Liszt's Melodramas has an incidental function: providing support for a (usually absent) visual element. All of the features that Liszt associated with the genre served to emphasise, clarify, and add dramatic expression to parts of the text in a similar way to Dawson's acting style. As such Liszt's

Melodramas seem to draw on the depiction of the supernatural of *Der Freischütz*, *Hans Heiling*, *Der Vampyr* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. They combine this with the mosaic structures of Weber's and Marschner's Melodramas and of Schumann's Melodramatic Ballads. At the same time they draw on the musical pictorialism, the suggestion of differentiated voices or characters, and the distinction between 'real' and imagined worlds of Beethoven's Melodramas.

The close relationship between text, gesture and music, and the use of reminiscence themes found in the Melodramas of Beethoven, Weber, Marschner, Mendelssohn, and Schumann can all be found in Liszt's Melodramas. Aside from the Schumann Melodramas, Liszt probably knew all of these works before coming to Weimar. But he revisited them in Weimar, examining them closely in order to conduct successful performances, and he also commented on these works in his *Dramaturgische Blätter*, highlighting them as pioneering examples of the fusion of music and drama. It was with these expectations of the style and form of the music of Melodrama, and a view that it should function in the context of incidental music, supporting staged action, that Liszt began composing *Hamlet*.

***Hamlet*: a Melodramatic Reading**

It has generally been assumed that Liszt composed *Hamlet* in the summer of 1858,¹¹⁹ over two years after meeting Dawson. Yet, in a letter from Wagner to Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein (Princess Carolyne's daughter) there is a suggestion that Liszt was considering writing a *Hamlet*-inspired work rather earlier than this. On 4 March 1857 Wagner wrote to Marie 'Bad as things were with me at St. Gall, the impression the concert there left upon me is unforgettable. I want to hear *everything* now, especially *Hamlet* and *Dante*; but I haven't

¹¹⁹ The entry for *Hamlet* in the work list provided by Maria Eckhardt and Rena Chanin Mueller merely states '1858' under composition date. See 'Liszt, Franz: Works', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xiv: 833. This is probably based on the fact that the only existing complete autograph of the work (GSA 60/A 10a) carries the date June '58.

even got the scores of them!!’¹²⁰ This suggests that the gap between Liszt meeting Dawson and considering *Hamlet* as a potential subject for a composition was actually rather shorter than previously assumed. In the wake of Dawson’s influence, the musical vocabulary of this symphonic poem draws heavily on incidental music, specifically on Melodrama. The piece is testament to a new desire to use music to create atmosphere, mimic gesture, suggest voices, and closely depict the events of a narrative. As such it reveals a close connection to *Hamlet* on the stage in an imagined performance with Dawson in the title role, declaiming and gesticulating in his melodramatic acting style.

From the opening, a close relationship between music and text is evident in Liszt’s *Hamlet*. Lina Ramann’s account of the work in her ‘official’ biography, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, begins by informing us that the rhythm of the initial motif neatly matches the words ‘To be or not to be’¹²¹ Ramann had this from Liszt himself. She writes that he whispered, ‘To be or not to be’ (in English) to her during the opening at a performance of the piece in the version for two pianos in 1884.¹²² This statement is also supported by Göllicherich, who was one of the performers on that occasion.¹²³

Ex. 10: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 1-3

Sehr langsam und düster.

2 Flutes

p *sotto voce* *dim.*

To be or not to be

2 Bassoons

(II. *p*)

¹²⁰ Wilhelm Altmann (ed.), *Letters of Richard Wagner* (London: Dent, 1927), 326 (Letter 331 to Princess Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein).

¹²¹ Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, Vol. 2, Part 2: 294.

¹²² Ramann, *Lisztiana*, 258.

¹²³ Göllicherich, *Franz Liszt*, 6.

The obvious rhythmic connection suggests that we are supposed to imagine the text being recited, particularly as it outlines the most famous line of the play, which Liszt could be reasonably confident the audience would know. Furthermore, an unusually flexible, expressive voice is suggested. Beginning *piano* in the bassoon, the motive is taken an octave higher in the upper winds whilst crescendoing over the words ‘not to be’. It then quickly dies away again. Its range is expressive and emphasises particular words in the manner of Dawson’s declamation.

The opening motif ends twice on a diminished 7th. Hollow strikes of the timpani followed by timpani rolls appropriately set the scene, drawing on the sound world of the music of popular staged Melodrama. A mournful rising motif repeated sequentially also contributes to the ominous atmosphere (see Ex. 16). The theme is heard several times, repeated exactly and then in sequence. Its structure and style are very much reminiscent of the static, mosaic patterning of Melodrama.

At bar 26 we hear twelve chords alternating between cellos and horn on the one hand and the flute, clarinet and bassoon on the other. These shift from the tonic major to the chord of E flat major and then to C minor. They represent a period of thematic and harmonic stasis that is not easily accounted for in structural terms. Humphrey Searle¹²⁴ and Keith T. Johns¹²⁵ have associated the twelve chords with the clock of Elsinore striking midnight, which signals the appearance of the ghost in the play. These bars draw on the world of the theatre, suggesting the use of ‘off-stage’ music. They imitate a diegetic sound and function as a divide between the ‘real world’ of Hamlet’s grief and the supernatural world as the ghost of Hamlet’s father appears, represented by tremolo low register strings (a clear signifier of the melodramatic style), and in a similar fashion to Liszt’s portrayal of the ghost in *Der traurige Mönch*.

¹²⁴ Searle, ‘Foreword’ in Franz Liszt, *Hamlet* (London: Eulenberg, 1976).

¹²⁵ Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997), 78.

We have seen that tremolos were often used to depict the ‘supernatural’ in the theatre, and indeed, Liszt had experienced a similar effect at a production of *Julius Caesar* in Weimar in 1851. At this production Liszt conducted Hans von Bülow’s overture. Afterwards, Bülow wrote about the production to his father, mentioning that, ‘The theatre music and a well thought-out Melodrama for the appearance of the ghosts also made a good effect’.¹²⁶ That it was Liszt’s intention to depict the ghost from bar 50 is further supported by the marking ‘schaurig’ or ‘eerily’. Two separate voices are suggested in this section. The ghost has the low string sonority, but there are also repeated hesitant woodwind gestures, which, given the narrative, we are probably intended to interpret as a shocked Hamlet, perhaps in Dawson’s signature gesture, stretching out his hand, retreating, and then repeating the gesture. Opposing registers suggest two different characters in dialogue with one another.

¹²⁶ Hans von Bülow, *The Early Correspondence* ed. his widow, trans. Constance Bache (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), 98. (To his father, 14 December 1851)

Ex. 11: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 50-55

The musical score for Ex. 11: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 50-55, is presented in two systems. The first system includes the Clarinet in A, Bassoon, Tenor Trombone, Bass Trombone, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The second system includes the Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Tenor Trombone (Tbn.), Bass Trombone (B. Tbn.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first system shows a 'ghost music' motif in the woodwinds and strings, marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second system shows the same motif continuing, with the woodwinds and strings playing a more active role.

The 'ghost music' then disappears and is replaced by an agitated motif marked *Allegro appassionato ed agitato assai* at bar 74. In terms of the musical structure this is a transitional section, based on the sequential repetition of short motifs. The elevated status of transitional music is familiar in Liszt's symphonic poems, and sections such as this one are extended for programmatic, rather than structural reasons. Its perhaps over-extended nature,

and the many changes of mood and tempo of the introduction as a whole make more sense imagined as a background to recitation, rather than as part of a symphonic structure.

Göllerich recalled that in this section Liszt said ‘seufzend’ (sighing) and also ‘Wohin soll ich mich wenden?’ (‘Where should I turn?’) during the two piano performance. Göllerich also included a reference to this in his notes on Liszt’s masterclasses.¹²⁷ Similar music also returns before the stabbing of Polonius. Again, it likely draws on the heightened emotions and corresponding gestures of Dawson’s acting.

Then at bar 104 we hear a new transformation of the ‘To be or not to be’ theme. This seems to depict the energetic, decisive Hamlet of Dawson’s portrayal. Aggressive dotted rhythms appear in the trumpets, suggesting battle cries, and aptly conveying Dawson’s interpretation of Hamlet as a skilled warrior. An active rather than passive and melancholy Hamlet is made clear to the listener through the use of this ‘topic’.

¹²⁷ See Göllerich, *Franz Liszt*, 6 and Göllerich, *The Piano Master Classes of Franz Liszt 1884-1886* ed. Wilhelm Jerger, trans. Richard Louis Zimdars (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 157-8.

Ex. 12: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 104-115

Oboe

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

Horn in E

Horn in E

Trumpet in E

Tenor Trombone

Bass Trombone and Tuba

Timpani

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

sempre ff e staccato

len.

ff

Ob. *len.* *f* *len.* *f* *f*

Cl. *len.* *f* *len.* *f* *f*

Bsn. *len.* *f* *f* *f*

E Hn. *len.* *f* *len.* *f* *f*

E Hn. *len.* *f* *len.* *f* *f*

E Tpt. *len.* *f* *len.* *f* *f*

Tbn. *len.* *f* *len.* *f* *f*

B. Tbn. *f* *f* *f*

Timp.

Vln. I *len.* *A* *len.* *A* *len.* *A*

Vln. II *len.* *A* *len.* *A* *len.* *A*

Vla. *len.* *A* *len.* *A* *len.* *A*

Vc. *len.* *A* *len.* *A* *len.* *A*

Cb. *len.* *A* *len.* *A* *len.* *A*

The section ends with a new rising arpeggiated theme breaking through the texture, aptly marked *risoluto*. This theme returns only once more at bar 291, where it heralds the repeated chords from bars 295-333 which, we shall see, were intended to represent the stabbing of Polonius.¹²⁸ Liszt therefore seems to use the *risoluto* motif to signal the moments in the play where Hamlet's resolve is predominant. Resolution is not, of course, a trait commonly associated with the character of Hamlet, rather the opposite. This seems once more to be, therefore, a reference to Dawson's portrayal that Liszt so admired. The theme is not developed: it recurs unchanged. Of course, other motifs in the work are treated to sophisticated thematic transformation, yet the *risoluto* motif merely provides clarity and emphasis, functioning like a reminiscence motif in Melodrama.

A note in the score states that the section that follows refers to Ophelia: 'This intermediate episode, (3/2 time) must be played extremely quietly and sound like a shadow picture suggesting Ophelia.'¹²⁹ Here Liszt chooses feminine sonorities of upper woodwinds and solo violin to suggest Ophelia's voice. The mood is contrasted by an interruption from Hamlet: another version of the 'To be or not to be' theme now in a distinctively mocking bassoon timbre. This creates a very different voice for Hamlet from the aggressive warrior of the previous blaring brass sounds. The music carefully responds to changes in the character's emotions, presumably creating a similar effect to the flexible and expressive alterations of Dawson's voice. Then we hear Ophelia's drifting upper woodwinds once more.

It would appear from the Klindworth letter that Dawson and Liszt also discussed the relationship between Hamlet and Ophelia, and the remarks Liszt made about this again sound as if he were parroting Dawson's views:

At the same time Dawson also settles very affirmatively the question of whether Hamlet does or does not love Ophelia. Yes Ophelia is loved; but like all exceptional natures, Hamlet demands

¹²⁸ See Ramann, *Lisztiana*, 258.

¹²⁹ Liszt, *Hamlet* (London: Eulenberg, 1976), 26, bar 160. The original reads: 'Dieser Zwischensatz, 3/2 Takt, soll äußerst ruhig gehalten sein und wie ein Schattenbild erklingen, auf Ophelia hindeutend.'

imperiously *the wine* of love from her and will not be satisfied with the *why*. *He wants to be understood by her without yielding to the necessity of explaining himself*. Seen in that light, it is Ophelia who corresponds to the generally accepted notion of Hamlet's character; it is she who is crushed beneath the weight of her role through her inability to love Hamlet as *he needs* to be loved, and her madness is nothing more than the *decrescendo* of a feeling whose vaporousness does not allow her to remain in Hamlet's sphere.¹³⁰

For Dawison, then, Ophelia was not an 'exceptional character' like Hamlet; she paled into insignificance beside the Prince. Liszt's term 'Schattenbild' ('shadow-picture') in the Ophelia section and the music itself seem to correspond to Dawison's interpretation of Ophelia as weak and unequal to Hamlet. Furthermore, Ophelia's main theme is pieced together from three motifs that we have already heard associated with Hamlet (see Examples 13.1-4). She truly is a shadow of Hamlet in this sense. This particular use of thematic transformation is reminiscent of a single person playing both parts in the style of a reciter of a Melodramatic Ballad. Two different voices are depicted, but the same thematic material is used, as if both Hamlet and Ophelia were portrayed by the same person.

Ex. 13.1: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 160-65 (Ophelia)

Clarinet in A

p dolce ed espressivo

Cl.

p

smorz.

¹³⁰ Translation in Pocknell, *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth*, 82.

Ex. 13.2: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 110-115 (Hamlet)



Ex. 13.3: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 1-3 (Hamlet – ‘To be or not to be’)

Ex. 13.4: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 9-12 (Hamlet)

We have already seen that the first Ophelia passage is interrupted by Hamlet’s main theme in the bassoon. According to Ramann this passage depicts Act III, Scene i of the play: the point where Hamlet tells Ophelia ‘Get thee to a nunnery’.¹³¹ It is during this interruption that Liszt uses the unusual marking *ironisch*. Perhaps unsurprisingly, descriptions of Dawison’s interpretation typically focus on his heightened use of bitterness, sarcasm and irony. Knetschke wrote that Dawison’s Hamlet placed too much emphasis on scepticism and

¹³¹ Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, Vol. 2, Part 2: 293.

sarcasm.¹³² Kollek too mentions Dawison's emphasis of sarcastic nuances.¹³³ This was particularly evident in Act III, Scene i.¹³⁴ Overall, given what is known of Dawison's portrayal of Act III, Scene i, Liszt's use of the marking *ironisch* in this section is intriguing, to say the least.

Liszt had already used the marking *ironisch* in the Mephistopheles movement of the *Faust Symphony*. His revival of this unusual term may have been inspired by Dawison's acting, especially as some critics even found 'a dose of Mephistophelean character' in his portrayal of Hamlet.¹³⁵ Indeed, it is tempting to speculate whether Liszt may have added the marking *ironisch* to the *Faust* score after having seen Dawison play the role of Mephistopheles the day before the *Faust* premiere in September 1857. In both cases the marking must be intended as a programmatic indication, rather than as a realisable musical effect, for it is difficult to imagine how a musician would go about playing something 'ironically'. However the case may be, the use of the term in the symphonic poem certainly suggests a close relationship to Dawison's acting style and conception.

After the 'Get thee to a nunnery' scene, earlier themes are revisited from bars 219-338, perhaps representing Hamlet arguing with his mother in Act III, Scene iv as Ramann suggests (though she does not directly cite Liszt as the source here).¹³⁶ This is interrupted by a piece of musical pictorialism highly suggestive of Melodrama, and of later film music, of which Melodrama was a precursor: stabbing chords from bar 294. Sarah Hibberd recalls a similar moment in the 'sleepwalking scene' from Chelard's *Macbeth*, which she argues is also highly influenced by Melodrama. Here the audience do not see Macbeth stabbing the King, but it is suggested 'very graphically' by 'demisemiquaver arpeggiations on a rising

¹³² Knetschke, 'Bogumil Dawison', 58.

¹³³ See Kollek, *Bogumil Dawison*, 163, 165, and 166.

¹³⁴ Kollek, *Bogumil Dawison*, 165.

¹³⁵ Knetschke, 'Bogumil Dawison', 58.

¹³⁶ Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, Vol. 2, Part 2: 298.

sequence of diminished 7ths'.¹³⁷ At this point during the performance of *Hamlet* for two pianos Liszt whispered to Ramann, 'Polonius—die Ratte' and mimed the intended gesture himself, making a stabbing action with his arm.¹³⁸ This clearly referred to Hamlet stabbing Polonius in Act III, Scene iv, and to Hamlet's line 'How now? A rat! Dead for a ducat, dead.'¹³⁹ The orchestra replaces this missing visual element. In the autograph score (GSA 60/A10a) Liszt also refers to the stabbing chords as 'die Schläge' or 'the blows'.

¹³⁷ Hibberd, 'Si l'orchestre seul chantait': Melodramatic Voices in Chelard's *Macbeth* (1827)' in *Melodramatic Voices...* ed. Hibberd, 99.

¹³⁸ See Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, Vol 2, Part 2: 298 and Lina Ramann, *Lisztiana*, 258.

¹³⁹ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* in *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, and David Scott Kastan (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998), 316.

Ex. 14: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 294-7

The musical score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for the following instruments:

- Piccolo
- Flute
- Oboe
- Clarinet in A
- Bassoon
- Horn in E
- Horn in E
- Trumpet in E
- Tenor Trombone
- Bass Trombone
- Timpani
- Violin I
- Violin II
- Viola
- Violoncello
- Contrabass

The score is marked *ff* (fortissimo) throughout. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The Piccolo part has a melodic line with grace notes. The woodwinds and brass play sustained chords. The strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Finally, the piece represents Hamlet's own death in a section marked *Moderato-funèbre*. Liszt now slows Hamlet's main theme down to a dirge, using a funeral topic to make the programmatic intention clear to the listener.

Ex. 15: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 347-351

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

p

p

p *pesante*

p *pesante*

p *pesante*

p *pesante*

p *pesante*

The image shows a musical score for a scene from *Hamlet*. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes a Clarinet (Cl.) and a Bassoon (Bsn.). The second system includes Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The woodwinds play a melodic line with slurs and accents. The strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, with the lower strings (Vc. and Cb.) playing a more somber, lower register. The dynamic marking *p pesante* is present in the string parts, indicating a soft, heavy, and slow tempo.

The piece ends as it begins, with more highly atmospheric, dramatic music of wide dynamic contrasts, delivered over a short space of time, reminiscent of the dramatic juxtapositions in Dawson's acting style. We also hear more tremolo effects in the strings, dark lower string sonorities, and hollow strikes of the timpani, all conjuring a sinister atmosphere, drawing heavily on stylistic effects associated with the music of popular staged Melodrama.

Overall, the music of *Hamlet* certainly seems to adopt techniques associated with both the melodramatic mode of acting and with Melodrama as a genre to convey the narrative of the play. This is made recognisable through a variety of approaches, including melodramatic

signifiers such as tremolos and diminished 7ths, the imitation of ‘off-stage’ music, the depiction of gesture, the suggestion of differentiated voices and the use of topics. Such techniques are untypical of the other symphonic poems. The following section will consider the influence of Melodrama on the structure of the piece, in which we see the typical devices of repetition, sequence, and the mosaic combination of short motifs.

Melodrama and the Formal Structure of *Hamlet*

Hamlet, of course, does differ from Liszt’s Melodramas in its attempt to create a symphonic whole. Throughout the piece we encounter a struggle between the depiction of the narrative and the requirements of musical form. Mapped onto this narrative we find large-scale repetition, dominant pedals, tonic resolution and thematic transformations, occasionally at the expense of ‘narrative’ flow. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the section depicting the stabbing of Polonius. Liszt immediately repeated exactly the stabbing section of bars 288-304 at bars 306-322 to create a sense of balance. Evidently he allowed the formal structure to dominate the programme in this instance, making Polonius die twice, so to speak. And the opposite is also true. The sheer length of the introduction has caused problems for analysts. There are several changes of tempo and a substantial section of tonally ambiguous music before we hear a dominant pedal heralding the tonic. The introduction is concerned with setting the scene and introducing the ghost rather than providing the listener with a sense of direction.

Despite these difficulties, an innovative approach to musical form can be found in *Hamlet*, which also seems to be based on structures found in Melodrama. The form of the work has been a source of contention for analysts who attempt to fit the piece within traditional frameworks. We have seen that Ramann believed that Liszt structured *Hamlet* around three main scenes from the play, and Kenneth Hamilton builds on this, describing the

piece as a taut arch form.¹⁴⁰ Humphrey Searle also divides the piece into three parts, but the divisions lie in different places. More recently, using James Hepokoski's theory that compositions represent 'individualized dialogues with an intricate system of norms and standard options',¹⁴¹ Steven Vande Moortele argues that *Hamlet* is mostly in dialogue with sonata form.¹⁴² Table 1 provides an outline of some of the existing formal and programmatic analyses of *Hamlet*.

¹⁴⁰ Hamilton, 'Liszt', *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, 150-151.

¹⁴¹ James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 614.

¹⁴² Steven Vande Moortele, 'Form, Program, and Deformation in Liszt's *Hamlet*', *Tijdschrift Voor Muziektheorie*, 11 (2006), 71-82 at 76.

Table 1: Existing Analyses of *Hamlet*

Lina Ramann (Structured around three key moments from the play)	Humphrey Searle (Psychological portrait without any particularly programmatic elements)	Steven Vande Moortele (Sonata Form)
‘To be or not to be’ and Act I, Scene v: First time Hamlet sees the ghost, bars 1-73	Slow introduction, bars 1-73	Slow Introduction, bars 1-73
Hamlet reaching a decision to avenge his father, bars 74-159	Allegro with two short Ophelia interludes, bars 74-346	Main Theme Group, bars 74-106
		Transition, bars 107-159
‘Get thee to a nunnery’: Act III, Scene i, bars 160-218		Subsidiary Theme Group, bars 160-217 ⁷³³
Act III, Scene iv: Hamlet and Gertrude, and the stabbing of Polonius, bars 219-338		Development, bars 218-337
Hamlet’s death, bars 339-393	Slow final section, bars 347-393	Recapitulation, bars 338-369
		Coda, bars 370-392

⁷³³ From this point on the bar numbers in Vande Moortele’s analysis are a bar out. There is a printing error in the Eulenberg miniature score in which a barline is missing between bars 200 and 201 causing the numbering to be incorrect from here on. Presumably Vande Moortele has based his numbering on this score.

It has already been mentioned that within *Hamlet*, as in much Melodrama, we find mosaic structures built from repeating motifs, sometimes appearing in sequence. We also find this small-scale structure expanded more broadly across the whole of the piece. We have noted that Liszt presents the listener with different episodes from the narrative, much as Dawson may have presented them to Liszt. Yet, each episode is based on the same thematic material. The piece, like *Tasso*, is comprised of a series of thematic transformations structured in circular restatements of large-scale sections, consistent with what James Hepokoski terms ‘rotational form’, but in this case the structure also has much in common with Melodrama.⁷³⁴

The first rotation occurs from bars 1-73. For Humphrey Searle this section is a ‘slow introduction’.⁷³⁵ It presents the main thematic ideas from which the majority of the following rotations will be formed. True to Melodrama, these are really motifs rather than fully-fledged themes. The first of these occurs within the first three bars (the ‘To be or not to be’ theme – Ex. 10). This motif undergoes several transformations in the course of the changing moods of a first rotation. A second motif is introduced at bar 9. This too will recur in later rotations:

Ex. 16: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 9-12



From bars 1-73 Liszt avoids any confirmation of the tonic by using a highly dissonant and unstable musical language, similar to that found in his Melodramas. At bar 74 the second rotation and the *Allegro appassionato ed agitato assai* begin. The music finally begins to

⁷³⁴ See Chapter Two for a brief definition of rotational form.

⁷³⁵ Humphrey Searle, *The Music of Liszt* 2nd edn (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 75.

move towards the tonic; a dominant pedal is repeated in the lower strings from the beginning of this section. It becomes more insistent, using rhythmic diminution and creating a crescendo through bars 81 and 82. We hear a new transformation of the initial theme at bar 83. But the dominant pedal has missed its tonal goal.⁷³⁶ The ‘new’ theme is accompanied by almost exactly the same initial dissonant harmony that accompanied the very first appearance of the theme in the piece,⁷³⁷ suggesting a ‘rotation’ of material.

The music breaks down into a massive descending chromatic scale across the whole orchestra. Then it begins to move once more towards another transformation of the ‘To be or not to be’ theme and tonic resolution. Once again repeated dominant pedals are emphasised by unison *fortissimo* brass and woodwind. Unlike the previous false start, the dominant pedal is successful this time in confirming the main key and introducing a new transformation of the initial theme. This reveals itself as the main motif of the piece (Ex. 12). The tonic is initially confirmed by a perfect cadence, but the music does not remain there long. As is often found in Melodrama, the motivic material rotates through a variety of modulations from the tonic to D minor, A flat minor, and E minor, creating a sense of restlessness. The same thematic material, and also some of the same harmonic material, is therefore repeated in the second rotation as in the first. Simultaneously, we have the same sense of motivic repetition and endless modulation as in the *Parzenlied*, for example.

The second rotation closes on a unison A flat: a diminished 7th above the tonic B minor, continuing the harmonic instability. Bars 160-218—the ‘Ophelia’ section—constitute a third rotation. We have already seen that the ‘Ophelia theme’ is based on material from earlier rotations (see Examples 13.1-4). In addition to this we also hear also hear a solo violin playing a melody derived from bars 9-12 (Ex. 16) in the first rotation:

⁷³⁶ Thwarted dominant pedals are a typical Lisztian technique. They play a significant role in the introductions to *Tasso* and *Festklänge*.

⁷³⁷ The only exception is a missing C sharp.

Ex. 17: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 171-174



Nonetheless, the light scoring, much longer note values, *piano* dynamic and legato articulation represent a complete contrast to the previous section, and therefore it is tempting to categorise it, as Vande Moortele does, as a sonata form ‘subsidiary theme group’.⁷³⁸ The key of this Ophelia section, however, is C# minor, an unlikely ‘sonata’ second-group tonality in relation to the tonic of B minor.⁷³⁹ Furthermore, the Ophelia section was a late insertion to the score. Therefore, it must be conceded that Liszt cannot have originally intended the piece to reference sonata form in any direct fashion.

The third rotation is in tripartite form: the music that Liszt labels as referring to Ophelia is placed either side of an Allegro based entirely on music from the previous rotations (including the main theme now marked *ironisch*). This Allegro begins in F# minor, and is tonally unstable and modulatory from the outset. The second Ophelia passage is a transposition of the first up a minor third to E minor, and ends, with a picardy third, on an E major chord. The same material, therefore, is treated in sequence. Again perfect cadences are deftly avoided through the use of unsettling dissonances in the upper woodwinds, which undermine the dominant triads in the cello.

⁷³⁸ Vande Moortele, ‘Form, Program, and Deformation’, 76.

⁷³⁹ Liszt’s most frequent key for his second theme group in sonata-form pieces was that of the raised mediant (which would be D#/E flat in this case), although he did use the unusual key of E flat minor for the second group in the *F minor Transcendental Study* and sometimes also more ‘traditional’ keys, such as the relative major in the *Sonata in B minor*, or the dominant in *Festklänge*. The *Hamlet* secondary tonality could be considered a ‘sonata deformation’. But clearly *Hamlet* does not exhibit Liszt’s usual treatment of sonata form key relations. If it can be considered a sonata form deformation, it must, therefore, be a deformation not only of the standard practices of sonata form, but also of Liszt’s own usual practice.

Bars 219-338 constitute a fourth rotation, opening with a variant of bars 9-24. Bars 219-285 repeat exactly the same tonal outline of bars 9-24, with new variants of the main themes. The motif from bars 9-24 (Ex. 16) now reappears with some rhythmic variation. And it leads into the two main themes from the second rotation, of which one appears in a rhythmically augmented transformation. E flat major is implied but, again, perfect cadences are avoided.

Ex. 18: Liszt, *Hamlet*, bb. 223-236

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

B sn.

E Hn.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

sf

f

pp

ff

ff

The musical score is for a section of a symphony, featuring the following instruments: Bsn., E Hn., E Tpt., Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The score is in 3/4 time and features a key signature of two flats. The Bsn. part has two measures of music, each marked *ff*. The E Hn. part has one measure of music, marked *sf*. The E Tpt. part has two measures of music, each marked *f*. The Vln. I part has two measures of music, each marked *ff*. The Vln. II part has two measures of music, each marked *f*. The Vla. part has two measures of music, each marked *f*. The Vc. part has two measures of music, each marked *f*. The Cb. part has two measures of music, each marked *f*.

The literal repetition of the harmonic and much of the thematic outline from bars 9-24 again supports the idea that the section is another ‘Hepokoskian’ (or perhaps melodramatic) rotation rather than a development, which would be expected at this point in the piece if it were in dialogue with sonata form as Vande Moortele suggests.

Bars 286-338 see more reiteration of earlier thematic transformations. These bars are highly significant in terms of the programme—representing the stabbing of Polonius as we have seen, but are difficult to categorise in terms of any formal function. In the autograph (GSA 60/A10a) there was originally silence in between each group of chords (bars 295-338

in the final version). In the final version, they are juxtaposed with motifs from earlier rotations.

The section depicting the stabbing of Polonius leads into the exact repeat of the first eight bars of the piece from bar 339, which signals the beginning of a final rotation.⁷⁴⁰ The repeat of these bars leads into a section marked *Moderato-funèbre* and contains the final mournful transformations of the main theme (Ex. 15). The main theme in this final form reveals the fate of the protagonist. The final rotation begins in the tonic, but a climax on C minor at bars 376-78 again disappoints expectations of tonic resolution. Finally, the tonic is confirmed in the last seven bars, which see the lower strings and timpani crescendoing through repeated perfect cadences, which only now allow Hamlet some resolution to his dilemma.

Overall, the whole work is woven out of the initial rotation and the two main motives it contains. These two ideas recur in ingenious new transformations in four further rotations. The rotations are tightly interwoven thematically, but there is little to connect them tonally, as there is little sense of harmonic progression in the chains of ostinatos: both typical of Melodrama. The first rotation is tonally unstable, the second begins in the tonic but quickly modulates, the third explores the keys of C# minor, F# minor, and E minor, the fourth is highly modulatory and the final rotation is in the tonic once more (and then only at the very end). Throughout the piece there is little tonal goal-oriented direction and this, combined with the constantly recurring thematic cycles, creates a sense of stasis (or parataxis as in *Tasso* and *Orpheus*) that bears little resemblance to a sonata form structure, but does indeed suggest a large-scale, 'symphonic' expansion of Melodrama.

⁷⁴⁰ Repeating the introduction is a common practice of Liszt's, one possibly inherited from his appreciation of Beethoven's *Pathétique Sonata*. The idea can also be found in the work of other composers he admired: Schubert, Berlioz, and Wagner among others. The practice is often associated with sonata forms but is also a common feature of Liszt's opera fantasies.

Table 2: *Hamlet* as a Rotational Form

Rotation	Thematic material	Harmonic Centre	Programmatic event
Rotation 1 bars 1-73 and	Ex. 10; Ex. 16	Unstable Dominant preparation	‘To be or not to be’ and the first appearance of the ghost
Rotation 2 bars 75-159	Ex. 12	B minor (tonic); modulatory	Resolute Hamlet
Rotation 3 bars 160-218 (tripartite)	Ex. 13; Ex. 16	C# minor F# minor E minor	Ophelia and Hamlet. ‘Get thee to a nunnery’
Rotation 4 bars 219-338	Ex. 14; Ex. 18	Modulatory	The stabbing of Polonius
Final Rotation bars 339-end	Ex. 15	B minor	Death/funeral

***Hamlet* as an Overture: Revisions and Chronology**

It took Liszt some time to reach a version of *Hamlet* with which he was satisfied. Early versions were rather different from the published symphonic poem and underwent substantial revision. The nature of the revisions coupled with the chronology of the work (as far as it can be pieced together from correspondence) suggests that Liszt initially did not intend *Hamlet* as a symphonic poem, but as an overture to the play, possibly even part of an incidental set, such as he had planned with Dingelstedt for the *Tempest* in 1853.⁷⁴¹ This goes some way to explaining the many stylistic and structural references to incidental music and Melodrama and to the melodramatic acting style considered above.

Towards the end of 1854, once he had completed several drafts of many of the symphonic poems, had conducted several of their premieres in Weimar, and had firmly settled on the name of his new genre, Liszt wrote to his publishers, Breitkopf & Härtel, in order to begin the process of getting them published. Initially, he enclosed only *Les Préludes* and *Orpheus* but supplemented this with *Tasso* on 4 March 1855. On 24 March he wrote again outlining his plans for the series: it was to consist of nine works, and he gave the titles and order as they were eventually published. Plans continued to go ahead, with Liszt sending each manuscript on completion. Nine remained the intended number. Then, on 14 December 1857 Liszt referred to a new symphonic poem, *Die Ideale*, which he also wanted published as part of the series. Initially, Liszt had planned a symphony based on Schiller's poem,⁷⁴² explaining the symphonic poem's late addition to the series and subsequent publication after the first nine. In a letter to Breitkopf & Härtel he did not refer to the number of this work, but it seems that the publishers naturally assumed that it was to take the last position, at this time number 10, in the series. It was not until 19 September 1858 that Liszt informed his

⁷⁴¹ See Chapter One.

⁷⁴² See Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt*, 68.

publishers that *Die Ideale* should be number 12 and that two new symphonic poems: *Hamlet* and *Hunnenschlacht* should appear as numbers 10 and 11. Breitkopf & Härtel replied on 4 October 1858 saying that this was the first they had heard of these two pieces, but they agreed to publish them as part of the series.⁷⁴³

Hamlet and *Hunnenschlacht* were, therefore, even later additions (almost a year after *Die Ideale*) though all three were composed around 1857-8. None were originally intended for the initial series of symphonic poems. Indeed, Liszt initially planned that *Hunnenschlacht* should form part of an entirely separate series entitled 'Die Weltgeschichte in Bildern und Tönen von W. Kaulbach und Franz Liszt'. This series of orchestral works were to be based on Kaulbach's *Weltgeschichte* frescoes on the walls of the staircase of the Berlin Museum.⁷⁴⁴ When Liszt abandoned the idea it must have occurred to him that *Hunnenschlacht* could still be published with his other orchestral works, explaining why it is the only symphonic poem based on visual art.⁷⁴⁵

Clearly *Hunnenschlacht* was not originally intended as a symphonic poem. The fact that *Hamlet* was added to the series at the same time suggests that this is also true of this piece. An unusual feature of the autograph (GSA 60/A 10a) is that the cover page contains the subtitle 'Vorspiel [prelude] zu Shakespeares Drama'. We have seen that Liszt used the genre designator 'overture' on several symphonic poems dating from 1849-54, but after this he exclusively used the term symphonic poem. His return to the use of a term like 'Vorspiel' at this late period therefore further suggests that the piece was in fact originally designed not as

⁷⁴³ For details of this correspondence and numerous, lengthy extracts see Oskar von Hase (ed.), *Breitkopf & Härtel Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht* Vol. 2: 1828 bis 1918 (Leipzig: Brietkopf & Härtel, 1919), 164-9.

⁷⁴⁴ See Rena Charnin Mueller, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Revisions', Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1986), 168.

⁷⁴⁵ It could, of course, be argued that *Orpheus* is based on an Etruscan vase in the Louvre, as Liszt suggests in his preface to the work. Yet, Chapter Three has shown that the symphonic poem is closely connected to Gluck's *Orphée*. In any case, the relationship is by no means as strong as that between *Hunnenschlacht* and Kaulbach's painting.

a symphonic poem but as an overture to the play, and possibly the first of an abandoned incidental set—particularly as excerpts from *Hamlet* could easily be used as incidental music.

Liszt later went back and added the subtitle ‘No. 10 of the Symphonic Poems’ to the autograph, but it seems likely that this was at a very late stage. The copyist’s score, which is very similar to the published symphonic poem, is titled only *Hamlet*. Liszt added ‘No. 10 of the Symphonic Poems’ along the bottom of the first page as an annotation. This suggests that it was only when the work was very near completion that Liszt decided that it should be a symphonic poem, and at this point went back to the autograph and added the subtitle there as well.

It seems highly likely, therefore, that *Hamlet* was initially conceived as a dramatic overture, possibly connected to a set of incidental music and this is further supported by an investigation of the revisions Liszt made to it. These focussed on adding to the programme, creating a closer relationship to the play. Such an approach seems to mirror that of Mendelssohn’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* with its depiction of the main characters and events: fairies, the court of Athens, the lovers, the braying Bottom, etc. Indeed, A. B. Marx suggested to Mendelssohn that the Overture should ‘not only be based on the subject of the play, but adopt it as its programme’.⁷⁴⁶ Liszt’s revisions to the piece evidence his attempts to achieve a similar goal.⁷⁴⁷ In fact, in his essay on Mendelssohn’s music to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* Liszt particularly praised the overture’s depiction of the programmatic elements mentioned above. He found that they were ‘characterised masterfully’ and skilfully

⁷⁴⁶ George Grove, ‘Mendelssohn’s Overture to A Midsummer Night’s Dream’, *The Musical Times* Vol. 44, No. 729 (1903), 728.

⁷⁴⁷ Intriguingly, his improvisation on *The Tempest* at a time when he was considering composing an incidental set for the play also provided a ‘summary’, carefully following the narrative of the play. See Chapter One.

intertwined.⁷⁴⁸ As a whole he thought Mendelssohn's incidental set much more successful than Beethoven's music to *Egmont*. Liszt seemed to find a more successful depiction of the drama in Mendelssohn and a greater sense of the various elements belonging to a wider whole.⁷⁴⁹ Perhaps taking Mendelssohn as a model, the majority of Liszt's revisions served to heighten the sense of drama in the work, by supplying characters or voices, movement and narrative direction. Indeed, the most significant revisions actually constituted the insertion of whole new 'scenes' from the play, while several other revisions are simply annotations of 'programmatic markings' (like *risoluto*, or *ironisch*, for example) adding dramatic expression and clarity.

The Goethe and Schiller Archive in Weimar has a complete autograph dated "Juni '58" (GSA 60/A 10a). This score contains several layers of corrections in red and blue crayon, a paste-over and an inserted sheet. The archive also holds an undated copyist's score (GSA 60/A 10b). On top of this the Franz Liszt Museum in Budapest holds two correction sheets in Liszt's hand (Ms. mus.5.6000). These contain references to page numbers, which correspond to a score that is now missing.

The first significant difference from the published version that occurs in the autograph score is that the whole of the section from bars 50-73, which represents the ghost of Hamlet's father, was a late addition to the piece, glued in as an extra page. Liszt, therefore, composed an extra 'scene' and imbued it with effects common to Melodrama. Additions, such as this one, drew on the subtitle, 'Vorspiel' and reinforced the idea that the work was intended as a 'summary' type of overture akin to Mendelssohn's *Overture to A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The programmatic marking *schaurig* (eerily) that appears in this section was eventually

⁷⁴⁸ See Liszt, 'Über Beethoven's Musik zu Egmont', in *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. 5 *Dramaturgische Blätter*, ed. Detlef Altenburg, (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), 25.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

inserted by Liszt as an annotation to the later copyist's score, further clarifying the programmatic intention.

But it was to the 'Ophelia' section that Liszt made the most significant revisions. In GSA 60/A 10a, the A flat chord in bar 153 was originally to be held as a general pause and this led straight into a different version of the later '*ironisch*' section (bars 176-202 of the published score). The 'Hamlet theme' from this section (bb. 178-180) in the bassoon was originally marked *marcato*, rather than *ironisch*, and the dynamic was *piano*, not *forte*.

The early version of the *ironisch* section originally led straight into the *Allegro molto agitato* (bar 219 in the published version). The two passages intended to represent Ophelia did not originally exist. The effect of the bassoon *marcato* figure would, therefore, have been greatly lessened. The composition of the two Ophelia passages made the narrative easier to navigate and provided relief from the main theme. It also gave Liszt the opportunity to include another device commonly found in Melodrama – the differentiation between Ophelia's and Hamlet's 'voices' using different sonorities. And, again, the insertion was equivalent to another 'scene' from the play, providing a more detailed 'summary'.

Transcription 2: The original middle section from GSA 60/A 10a⁷⁵⁰

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

p

marcato

pizz.

p

⁷⁵⁰ This is equivalent to bb. 176-202 (the *ironisch* section) of the published score.

[illegible]

[illegible]

13

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

solo *mf*

solo *mf*

solo *mf*

3

3

3

3

3

3

3

3

17 (8)

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is for measures 17 through 20. Measure 17 starts with a measure rest for all instruments. Flute and Oboe enter with a triplet of eighth notes (F#4, G#4, A5) followed by a quarter rest. Clarinet and Bassoon also enter with a triplet of eighth notes (F#3, G#3, A4). Violin I and II, Viola, and Violoncello enter with a triplet of eighth notes (F#4, G#4, A5). Double Bass has a measure rest. Measure 18 continues the woodwind and string parts. Measure 19 shows the woodwinds and strings continuing their patterns. Measure 20 features a Bassoon solo with a trill on A4, followed by a double sharp (a2#) and a quarter rest. The other instruments have measure rests in this measure.

21

Bsn.

solo

Vc.



25 **Allegro appassionato**

The image shows a page of a musical score, measures 25 through 28. The tempo is marked 'Allegro appassionato'. The score is for a full orchestra. The instruments listed on the left are Fl. (Flute), Ob. (Oboe), Cl. (Clarinet), Bsn. (Bassoon), E Hn. (English Horn), Vln. I (Violin I), Vln. II (Violin II), Vla. (Viola), Vc. (Violoncello), and Db. (Double Bass). The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, stems, beams, and dynamic markings like 'sf' (sforzando) and 'f' (forte). There are also performance instructions like 'a2' (second ending) and 'a1' (first ending) indicated by arrows. The measures are numbered 25, 26, 27, and 28 at the top of the staves.

Liszt later (the precise date is unknown) inserted a separate sheet into the autograph containing the two ‘Ophelia’ passages, although they were not labelled as such at this point. It was indicated that they were to be played either side of the *ironisch* section (which was only marked as such later on, as an annotation to the copyist’s score). The Ophelia passages still differed significantly from the final version. The scoring was largely identical, but the violin and cello solos were missing, as were the 2nd and 7th bars of the pattern (where first the clarinets, then the flutes have a semibreve followed by a minim) each time:

Transcription 3: The inserted 'Ophelia section'

die ♩ soeben die ♩ .

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

pp

dolce ed espressivo

p



7

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

dolce

pp

2da Soli

11

Fl. *dolcissimo*

Ob.

Cl. *dolcissimo*

Bsn.

15

Fl. *poco rall.*

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

E Hn.

Vln. 1 *p*

Vln. 2 *p*

Vla. *p*

Vc. *p pizz.*

Db. *p*

20

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

E Hn.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

a2

marcato

3

428

429

35

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Bsn.

E Hn.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

a2

solo

3

3



40

Cl.

Bsn.

Vc.

3

3

3

dolce

47 die J wie soeben die J.

Fl. *pp*

Ob.

Cl. *pp*

Bsn.

51

Fl. *dolcissimo*

Ob. *pp*

Cl. *2da Solo* *dolcissimo*

Bsn.

55 *poco rall.*

Fl.
Ob.
Cl.
Bsn.



59 *zurück Seite 9*
Allegro Appassionato

Cl.
Bsn.
E Hn.
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Vla.
Vc.
Db.

sf
sf
sf
sf
sf
sf
sf
sf

pizz.
pizz.

The copyist's score naturally incorporated these substantial revisions. As such, it is very similar to the published score. At this stage Liszt mainly clarified the programmatic

details by adding expressive markings. These included the note that the new middle section was intended as a ‘shadow picture’ of Ophelia. The violin and cello solos and the extra bars for the clarinets and flutes were also added to this copy. The *risoluto* motif was also marked as such (it is simply *marcato* in the autograph), and ‘*ironisch*’ was added to the bassoon melody. All of these annotations can be related to Dawison’s interpretation: from the shadowy Ophelia to the unusually resolute Hamlet, and the Mephistophelean irony that Hamlet directs at Ophelia.

Before Liszt revised the autograph there were already several programmatic details relating to Melodrama and incidental music. These included the ‘To be or not to be’ motif, the clock of Elsinore, the stabbing of Polonius, and Hamlet’s death. The revisions created an even more detailed ‘summary’ of the play. The relationship to the stage was even more heavily drawn as Liszt revised his ‘Vorspiel’.

Between the revised ‘Vorspiel’ and the published symphonic poem there were very few revisions. The copyist’s score (which Liszt annotated: ‘No. 10 of the symphonic poems’) incorporated the revisions from the autograph. From there on, Liszt only changed minor details of dynamics, expressive markings, articulation and occasionally scorings. At no point was there a substantial structural change: the insertion of the Ophelia section merely introduced another ‘rotation’ of thematic material. The revisions, therefore, did not so significantly affect the structural outline, as they had in previous instances when Liszt revised an ‘overture’.

The chronology, style of the piece, original subtitle and nature of the revisions also suggest that *Hamlet* in some sort of performance, rather than as a static text, provided the impetus for this composition, and that indeed, it was first intended as an overture to the play. Liszt revised the work to heighten this function – not so that it could ‘become’ a symphonic

poem. He later simply rebranded it on the copyist's score and it became part of the series, as did *Hunnenschlacht*.

Its connections to incidental music and Melodrama ensure that *Hamlet* stands out within the series of symphonic poems. These connections perhaps also account for many of the perceived 'flaws' within the work. Indeed, many of the problematic moments can be understood with reference to the play. For, although it exhibits passages of great imagination, with effective orchestration and ingenious manipulation of ideas, Liszt's melodramatic summarising overture never quite reached its full potential as a stand-alone piece. The published version may function better as part of a collection of incidental music. Objectively, Liszt felt dissatisfied with the piece, but nonetheless retained an affection for it, which he confided to Göllicher: 'It [*Hamlet*] deserves to be reviewed poorly, but I quite like it—I am like some poor parents who harbour a special fondness for their crippled children'.⁷⁵¹

Overall, the style of *Hamlet* encourages us to imagine it in relation to a staged performance of the play. Liszt's opening motif was based on the rhythms of speech; he suggested 'off-stage' music as the clock of Elsinore struck twelve; signifiers commonly found in Melodrama depicted the ghost; there was an attempt to represent Ophelia's and Hamlet's 'voices'; imitations of a stabbing, and a final funeral topic suggested Hamlet's death. Liszt's musical vocabulary drew on incidental music, specifically on Melodrama in both its staged (as part of opera) and concert hall (as in hybrid genres and the Melodramatic Ballad) manifestations, as well as on the melodramatic acting style. The final work in the set of symphonic poems is, to some extent, a symphonic Melodrama.

⁷⁵¹ Göllicher, *Franz Liszt*, 7. The original reads: 'Sie verdient schlecht rezensiert zu werden, ich hab' sie aber ganz gern – es geht mir dabei wie manchen armen Eltern, die eine besondere Vorliebe für ihre verkrüppelten Kinder hegen.'

Owing to its origins in incidental music and Melodrama, *Hamlet* attains arguably the closest mirroring of its subject of all the symphonic poems. With this work Liszt had gone as far as he could in retaining some musical logic whilst depicting an extramusical subject. And as such *Hamlet*, ironically, could be said to represent the culmination of the symphonic poems, even though it was not initially conceived as one. Indeed, at times the ‘power-relationship’ between music and programme was so unequal that *Hamlet* revealed a new direction that Liszt would follow in his next attempts to fuse music and poetry. In the years immediately following the completion of *Hamlet* he would continue to compose Melodramas as well as the *Two Episodes from Goethe's Faust*, which also contain features of this style and exhibit an exceptionally high reliance on their texts. The last Weimar symphonic poem can therefore be understood not just as a ‘Vorspiel’, but as a substitute Melodrama to an imagined production of *Hamlet*, with the remarkable Dawson, a kindred spirit to the composer, declaiming the lead role.

Conclusions

Liszt's Developing Conception of the Symphonic Poem

I: the Influence of the Stage

Liszt's plans for a programmatic orchestral series date back at least to the mid-1840s. He arrived in Weimar having already made thematic sketches of several orchestral pieces inspired by poetry. Yet the Weimar years were to represent a crucial period in the development of the symphonic poem genre. Liszt's frame of reference broadened in response to the many dramatic productions in which he was now involved, as did his approach to form. This became more innovative and flexible.

Liszt's intentions for his series soon expanded on arrival in Weimar, but he took some time to define his ideas. Initially, he used a variety of specific genre descriptors. They suggest that, at least in the beginning, he conceptualised the pieces composed for the theatre as separate from his planned orchestral series. For these works associated with poetry Liszt tended to use the term, 'symphony'. Significantly, we tend also to find several interrelated movements in one in these pieces, suggesting that formal factors were an important generic indicator. This is true of *Ce qu'on entend* and the later *Die Ideale*. *Die Ideale*, as we have seen, was also initially intended as a symphony, to complement the *Dante* and *Faust* symphonies,¹ perhaps going some way to explaining its sheer length and ambitious structure. It is generally known that Liszt first conceived *Ce qu'on entend* as a 'meditation symphony', referring to Lamartine's *Nouvelles méditations poétiques*, in addition to Victor Hugo. Yet, at a concert on 10 March 1850 *Ce qu'on entend* is listed amongst the repertoire simply as a

¹ Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997), 68.

‘symphony’.² Liszt, therefore, appeared to use the term ‘symphony’ in works based on poetry that to some extent exhibited ‘double function sonata form’.

Interestingly, Liszt seems to have toyed with the idea of having the poems attached to his pieces recited before performances. A programme for a concert in which *Ce qu'on entend* was performed on 10 March 1850 is kept in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.³ It was a court concert and there is no playbill, but it is indicated that the poem by Victor Hugo is to be read by Jaffé. This suggests that Liszt felt it important that audiences had the poem immediately in mind before reflecting on the music. Clearly Liszt took Berlioz's prefaces as a model when he began attaching prefaces to his own programme music, yet they may also have been designed to negate the need for such recitations. This curious early performance (it may well have been the premiere) reveals Liszt thinking along the lines of melodrama, even in works that have no obvious links to the stage, perhaps because he was now surrounded by actors that he could utilise.

Liszt was equally particular about his use of the terms ‘overture’ and ‘prelude’. These terms are only used with reference to *Tasso*, *Prometheus*, *Festklänge*, *Orpheus*, *Hamlet* and *Les Préludes* (in its early guise as an overture to a series of choral works based on Autran poems). They are, therefore, reserved for works functioning as an introduction to something else (another production, performance or festival). With the exception of *Les Préludes* they are all connected to Weimar performances in some way and we have seen that in several cases (including possibly all except *Orpheus*) it seems that it did not initially occur to Liszt that they would form part of his orchestral series. Formally they are varied, but in their first versions at least there is usually some evident reference to sonata form because of their connections to the

² Ferdinand von Ziegesar, ‘Hofconcerte 1850’, *Generalintendanz des DNT Weimar*, 55, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar.

³ Ibid.

overture genre. Liszt appears initially, therefore, to have tried to keep his orchestral series separate from his commissions as Kapellmeister, highlighted by his choice of genre descriptors.

Yet this soon changed, no doubt as a result of time pressures, as much as anything else. Indeed, the case studies in this thesis reveal a symbiotic relationship between Liszt's compositional plans and his work in the theatre. We have seen that the four symphonic poems examined here were either composed for particular Weimar performances (*Orpheus* and *Festklänge*), were early works that were revised specifically for a Weimar production (*Tasso*), or were inspired retrospectively by a Weimar performance that Liszt did not himself actually witness (*Hamlet*). They functioned in this context but were also made to serve a dual purpose (in some cases after considerable revision), as part of the series of symphonic poems.

Increasingly, Liszt's conception of his orchestral series incorporated references to dramatic genres. This occurred against the background of performance traditions in the Weimar Court Theatre that created fluidity between the stage and concert hall. It also occurred as it became clear that Liszt would not complete a mature opera. More and more, the symphonic poems (and the two symphonies) were called upon to take the place of his 'missing' opera at Weimar festivals. Instead of offering a new opera for the jubilee of Maria Paulowna, Liszt conducted his overture to Gluck's *Orphée* at one event and, at another, *Festklänge*, in between Schiller's Festival Play, *Die Huldigung der Künste*, and Rubinstein's opera, *Die sibirischen Jäger*. In performance, therefore, Liszt's symphonic poems and symphonies began to substitute for actual drama, and this perhaps also affected the way he conceptualised them. Increasingly, he drew on dramatic techniques, evident in both the symphonies, as well as the symphonic poems discussed here. Finally, *Hamlet*, the symphonic poem most indebted to stage music, provided a culmination to the Weimar symphonic poems.

As well as affecting his developing conception of the symphonic poems, the influence of the stage can be found in specific details of the pieces considered in this thesis. We have found that performance context could influence choice of programmatic subject (*Tasso* and *Orpheus*), key and tempo (*Orpheus*), initial choice of orchestral forces (*Tasso* and *Orpheus*), and form (*Tasso* and *Festklänge*). More broadly, the stage influenced Liszt's stylistic approach in each of the symphonic poems here examined. *Hamlet*, of course, is stylistically heavily indebted to melodrama and incidental music, *Orpheus* to the by then anachronistic style of Gluck's reform operas, and *Festklänge* to the festival overture and the exuberant style of entr'actes and overtures to spoken theatre. *Tasso* is perhaps the most stylistically diverse (though *Festklänge* could also compete for this title), probably owing to the variety of conflicting narratives it references. In addition to influences from Byron and Goethe, the coda is obviously indebted to Beethoven's *Egmont* overture and the minuet seems directly to reference stage ideas of scenery and movement. Furthermore, the differentiated characters of this section—chattering woodwinds offset by a cantabile, bel canto style—verge almost on the later world of film music as well as opera. Stylistically, then, all these works are heavily indebted to the theatre.

Eventually, with Liszt's continued exposure to opera and incidental music, and in the absence of his own stage works, his conception of the symphonic poems broadened to include opera, spoken theatre, and visual art (once his planned project with Kaulbach was abandoned).

II: Form and Programme

Initially, Liszt approached his symphonic poems in a similar manner to that taken in the *Album d'un Voyageur* (published 1842). Just like these piano works, his planned orchestral series referenced primarily French Romantic poetry (and Byron). The *Tasso*

manuscripts show that he also took a similar formal approach, developing the variation forms of the piano pieces. Furthermore, the existing manuscripts for all the symphonic poems generally show that Liszt began with a piano sketch on 2-4 staves. And we have seen that the influence of piano writing is particularly evident in the accompaniment of early versions of *Tasso*.

As Liszt's experience with the orchestra developed, and as he began to refer to genres such as 'the overture', he began to experiment with sonata form—something he had also begun to do in the larger pieces of the *Album*, such as 'Vallée d'Obermann' (1837-8). Yet, he quickly found this too restrictive. Indeed, the case studies in this thesis have shown that Liszt increasingly adopted an innovative, flexible approach, pioneering new techniques with increasingly distant connections to sonata form. These anticipated many much later approaches. For example, James Hepokoski has highlighted several 'reassessed compositional principles' in Sibelius's *Symphony No. 5*,⁴ which Hepokoski conceptualises as products of Sibelius's confrontation with 'New Music', exemplified in the work of Schoenberg and others. Yet, several of these principles, including content-based forms, rotational form, and the interrelation and fusion of several movements into one, can be found in Liszt's symphonic poems.

The revisions Liszt made to *Tasso* and *Festklänge* suggest that he found their original forms too 'traditional'. He seems to have felt self-conscious about the clear references to sonata form in *Festklänge* (indeed, Hepokoski's 'reassessed compositional principles' are notably absent from this symphonic poem). Accordingly, Liszt's revisions included the extension of transitional areas, the inclusion of new thematic material, a reduction in the number of signposting fanfares, and an incongruence between the rhetorical and formal

⁴ James Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 19-29.

structure. Yet, the outline of the sonata form structure is still clearly evident in the published version. Liszt again tried to counter this in 1861 when he published ‘Variants’ to the score that proposed cutting the development and recapitulation.

Overall, the revisions made to each of the case studies have generally shown Liszt moving away from traditional structures, particularly that of the overture, to create something more innovative and individual. The thesis as a whole, therefore, has shown that as Liszt developed his series a flexible approach to form became a defining feature of the genre. His published writings also show that he placed a great deal of significance on this aspect of his work, and he intended his structures to be pioneering. Form receives much attention in his essay ‘Berlioz and His “Harold” Symphony’. Liszt puts forward a principle, which he applies to Berlioz’s music, but which, of course, is also intended as representative of his own works: *‘The artist may pursue the beautiful outside the rules of the school without fear that, as a result of this, it will elude him.’*⁵ Liszt argues that forms become stale without individuals capable of developing and adapting them, and that posterity will appreciate Berlioz’ works (and presumably also his own) more so than contemporary society. In this case, Liszt’s theory closely matches his development of formal structures through the revision of the symphonic poems. Yet, *Festklänge*, with its clearly discernible sonata form, is again the exception to the rule, despite Liszt’s attempts to nuance its structure.

This thesis has shown that Liszt still wished to reference traditional forms somewhat (and generally used sonata form as a model from which to work), but it was necessary to be flexible enough to accommodate various programmatic strategies and references to other genres. Accordingly, several of Liszt’s formal innovations are related to the programme, and draw on characteristic features of staged genres and poetry. For example, the repeat of

⁵ Liszt, ‘Berlioz and his “Harold” Symphony’, 107.

introductory material at a late stage, strongly delineating the coda, is particularly prevalent in *Hamlet* and *Tasso*. It frames the action and provides a distanced commentary in the manner of a narrator (or the prologue in a Shakespearian play), reminding us of certain themes and events as we reflect on the story. And we have seen that the traditional recapitulation was often cut partly because it did not fit the ‘narrative arc’.

Equally, rotational form is commonly found in symphonic poems associated with spoken or musical theatre. In *Tasso* and *Hamlet*, rotations tend to refer to scenes from the plays they reference, whilst in *Orpheus* they are akin to Gluck’s dramatic tableaux. In *Tasso* the programmatic Minuet ‘episode’ occurs where we would expect the development (akin to Hepokoski’s ‘episodes within the developmental space’⁶). All of this suggests that the paratactic style, with its succession of juxtaposed images rather than the teleological forward motion of the hypotactic sonata form,⁷ is characteristic of the symphonic poem.

Once again, this is supported by Liszt’s writings on programme music. We have seen that he felt that programmes could lend instrumental music characteristics of lyric poetry. He wrote that

if all along it [the programme] has been expressing the moods proper to these various species [of lyric poetry], it can by defining its subject draw new and undreamed-of advantages from the approximation of certain ideas, the affinity of certain figures, the separation or combination, juxtaposition or fusion of certain poetic images and perorations.⁸

Liszt naturally associated lyric poetry with a juxtaposition of various images. He brought these characteristics to his programme music through the use of rotational form, harmonic ambiguity, static repeated blocks, sequences and variations rather than developments, and by avoiding traditional recapitulations. Such paratactic effects, as we have seen, are found in

⁶ Hepokoski lists this as a common deformational procedure of late nineteenth-century composers. See James Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 6-7.

⁷ See Chapter Three for a fuller discussion of these styles in music and literature.

⁸ Liszt, ‘Berlioz and his “Harold” Symphony’, 124.

several of the symphonic poems. But, once again, *Festklänge*, with its hypotactic sonata form structure, provides the exception, reinforcing its unusual position within the series.

Finally, Liszt's words regarding images and ideas also allow us to draw conclusions about his treatment of programmes more specifically. In the 'Harold' essay he compared music to antique sculpture. He argued that 'these works of art also represent passions and forms, generating certain movements of the affections, rather than the specific and particular individuals whose names they bear—names, moreover, which are for the most part again allegorical representations of ideas.'⁹ He suggests that programme music works in a similar way, putting forward general ideas, images, and feelings. It is the programme that lends these things specificity. Indeed, as a means of the composer indicating 'the direction of his ideas' Liszt deemed the programme 'indispensable'.¹⁰

Here Liszt's theory and his music seem to diverge. The case studies of this thesis have shown that in several instances Liszt's prefaces are vague and misleading. In the case of *Orpheus* and *Tasso* they deliberately obscure the original source of inspiration and compositional and performance context. And as regards *Festklänge* there is little evidence to suggest that Liszt had a programme in mind at all when he composed this piece. Both the prefaces and Liszt's collected writings, therefore, attempt to make his own music appear to conform closely to his very public ideas on programme music. However, the genesis and gestation of these pieces suggests his practices were quite different from what he would have his public believe.

Furthermore, the idea that programme music puts forward images in general terms and uses prefaces to guide the listener may be true of *Orpheus* or *Tasso*, but it by no means

⁹ Ibid., 132.

¹⁰ Ibid., 127.

applies to *Hamlet*. Here the music achieves a high level of specificity to the programme, closely imitating movements and events, even suggesting lines from the play. We have seen that this may well have been because Liszt originally intended the work as incidental music. Yet the choice to include it in the series and only heighten these moments of specificity when revising the work is unusual. Overall, Liszt's fidelity to programmes and his treatment of them varies from case to case and resists the simple method he suggests in his theoretical writings on the subject.

Revising the Symphonic Poems: Creating a 'New Genre'

We have already seen that Liszt often revised his overtures to allow a greater degree of formal innovation and flexibility as he developed his series of symphonic poems. Accordingly, these features can be considered characteristic of the genre. Yet, the thesis as a whole has shown that other important features were also added during revisions.

The increased range of reference influenced by Liszt's work in the theatre had important implications for Liszt's (and our) conception of his genre. John Frow has found that certain genres refer to others and imitate their effects.¹¹ In Weimar the symphonic poem turned into a chameleon, hybrid genre that would reference its 'inspiration'. In this way Liszt incorporated references to spoken theatre in *Tasso* and *Hamlet*. Characters and scenes are suggested in both. *Hamlet* clearly references melodrama and incidental music, and both may have been influenced by specific acting styles. Equally, in *Festklänge* Liszt referenced the exuberant style of entr'actes and light overtures and the martial topics of Festival overtures. And in *Orpheus* we find a distant reflection of Gluck's 'classical' style. In all of these pieces, Liszt referenced ideas from the stage, creating a symphonic-dramatic hybrid.

¹¹ John Frow, *Genre* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 6.

Several generic references were added as these works were revised from overtures to symphonic poems, suggesting that Liszt saw them as an important feature of his new genre. The melodramatic tremolo strings representing the ghost in *Hamlet* were added after the completion of the first complete draft. Revisions to *Tasso* included the insertion of the rather archaic ‘Minuet’ episode. Equally, increased dramatic contrasts were added to *Festklänge*, often in distinct styles alluding to different genres, including religious music, recitative, and polonaise. This created the impression of a dramatic programme that may, ironically, never have existed. In all of these cases the eventual result was a generic mixture that is stylistically extremely varied. Yet this appears to have become a positive, indeed essential feature.

Generic borrowings and overlaps are also mentioned in the ‘Harold’ essay, and here Liszt’s music and his theory align once more. Liszt tells us, ‘An element, through contact with another, acquires new properties in losing old ones’¹² and ‘through crossbreeding and blending new and hitherto unknown arts spring up’.¹³ He suggests that all arts are related and so can be united to create new forms. For Liszt, this is positive and necessary for art to continue to flourish and develop. Both his music and his writings suggest, therefore, that generic and stylistic borrowings are a key feature of the symphonic poems. This thesis has shown that this is certainly an important feature of the case studies in this thesis.

Yet, occasionally Liszt’s revisions would reveal little real difference between an ‘Overture’ and a ‘Symphonic Poem’. This is certainly true of *Orpheus*. The formal structure and thematic material of this work in its ‘overture’ version bear a close resemblance to the published piece. Admittedly, at the time of composition it is likely that Liszt’s plans for his series of symphonic poems were well underway, and he may well have had a dual purpose for

¹² Liszt, ‘Berlioz and his “Harold” Symphony’, 113.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 114.

this piece in mind from conception,¹⁴ which he did not have when composing the overture to *Tasso*, for example. The main difference in genre between *Orpheus* as an overture and as a symphonic poem is performance context, which can alter audiences' perceptions and expectations significantly. Indeed, some literary theorists argue that genre definition must be 'centred not on the substance or the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish.'¹⁵ Away from the stage, *Orpheus* was perceived not as a prelude to an opera, but as representative of Liszt's personal response to a programmatic subject. Performance context, therefore, became another important generic indicator of the symphonic poem, particularly as after their Weimar premieres Liszt seems to have conducted the symphonic poems exclusively in concert contexts.¹⁶

Liszt's revisions, therefore, suggest that he gradually conceptualised the symphonic poem in terms of several divergent generic markers. These included a flexible, innovative use of form supple enough to be suited to a programme, generic and stylistic mixtures and borrowings, and the performance context of the concert hall.

Genre and Evaluative Implications

Northrop Frye argues that Browning's *Ring and the Book* is often described as an epic because of its length and the fact that its action is expressed through soliloquies, but that we can only fully appreciate its features when we 'see it as a generic experiment in drama, a

¹⁴ Soon after the premiere of *Orpheus* Liszt wrote to Louis Kohler about his forthcoming series of symphonic poems. See La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe* Vol. 1 of 8 (Leipzig, 1893-1905), 150 (Letter 109 to Louis Kohler, 2 March 1854): 'Mit Ende des Jahres sollen Sie von mir noch größeres Geschütz bekommen, denn ich denke, dass bis dahin mehrere meiner Orchester-Werke (unter dem Collectiv-Titel „Symphonische Dichtungen“) erscheinen.'

¹⁵ Carolyn R. Miller, 'Genre as Social Action' in *Genre and the New Rhetoric* ed. Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), 24.

¹⁶ Currently the most extensive overview of performances of the symphonic poems during Liszt's lifetime is in Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt*, 83-138. Johns covers performances in the years 1849-1861 in Europe and North America.

drama turned inside out.¹⁷ Equally, in the symphonic poems references to other genres are often overlooked, but they have important implications for how we interpret certain elements, and, consequently, how we evaluate them. For example, in *Tasso* the repeated introductory elements, such as the descending triplet figures and the *Allegro Strepitoso*, which reappear at various stages within the work, are understood only as having a recapitulatory function if we approach the piece simply as an abstract symphonic work. Yet, this leads to confusion in interpreting the rest of the piece with reference to sonata form. If, however, we consider the work with reference to dramatic ideas, the introductory elements become motifs that we might find in incidental music or melodrama signalling moments of pathos or Tasso's paranoia (Hans von Bülow's 'l'épisode de la folie'). They take on a different function, and, arguably, are thus given a coherence and justification that they may otherwise lack.

Equally, if we ignore the dramatic elements in *Hamlet* many passages within the piece become almost inexplicable. The introduction is unusually long and varied, the *Ophelia* section is not easily conceived of as a second subject, there are large sections of repeated material where we would expect a development and there is no standard recapitulation. Yet, if we approach many of these aspects as having a dramatic function, if we broaden our conception of the symphonic poem to include incidental music, and if we identify the frequent references to melodrama, these elements are more easily conceptualised.

All of this suggests that we cannot interpret these works solely as part of a broader abstract symphonic genre. We must consider their relationship to other sometimes non-musical genres. If we do not they are found to be incomprehensible, they are excessively repetitive, and there are elements that do not 'fit'. Our understanding of the symphonic poem genre effects how we evaluate Liszt's music. In *Orpheus*, for example, the construction of the

¹⁷ Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1971), Fourth Essay: Rhetorical Criticism: Theory of Genres, 246.

first section with its repetitive blocks might be judged harshly with reference to hypotactic symphonic forms, in which we expect a more flexible and forward-moving sequencing than Liszt employs. Yet, if we approach it as the representation of an antique tableau, whether staged as in an opera, or on the Etruscan vase that Liszt directs our attention to in the preface, then Liszt's 'additive' phrasing suddenly takes on a new meaning.

Future Areas for Research

This thesis has attempted to uncover new information on Liszt's work as Kapellmeister of the Weimar Court Theatre and suggested significant ways in which his work in the theatre influenced his compositions. Yet, there is still more work to be done in this area. Weimar was an important centre in the 19th-century, premiering many pieces which were to become part of the 19th-century canon. Relatively little detailed research has been done on important performances such as the premiere of *Lohengrin*, the premiere of the revised 'Weimar' version of *Benvenuto Cellini* and the early productions of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* and Schumann's *Genoveva* and *Manfred*. A fuller investigation of Liszt's work in Weimar exploring these productions, and building on the findings of Chapter One, might provide an important contribution towards our understanding of 19th-century performance practices and stagings, and Liszt's contribution to this area.

Against the context of the theatre this thesis has offered a detailed examination of four of the symphonic poems. As such, it tries to provide new insights into an under-examined area of Liszt scholarship and nineteenth century music more broadly. Examinations of early versions of the other symphonic poems, particularly of sketches made in the 1840s, would contribute still more to our understanding of this genre and its gradual development.

Finally, Liszt, understandably, is not usually recognised as a composer for the theatre. Yet, we have seen that dramatic forms had an important influence on several of the symphonic poems. This thesis has attempted to (re-)historicise these works. It has not presented them within the well-worn context of Liszt's Romantic aesthetic. Rather, it has attempted to reposition them within the context of Liszt's practical work at the Weimar Court Theatre. In doing so, we can recover forgotten performance contexts and functions that offer a wealth of new information that impacts our understanding of a genre that became highly characteristic of nineteenth-century music.

Overall, this thesis has demonstrated that in many ways the Weimar symphonic poems were a product of Liszt's work as Kapellmeister of the Weimar Court Theatre, and it is perhaps mistaken to attempt to separate the two. The re-historicising of these pieces conducted in this thesis has important implications for our understanding of how the genre of the symphonic poem developed and how we might approach it. Indeed, broadening our conception of the symphonic poem to include references to other genres, such as the dramatic overture, opera, melodrama and incidental music, changes how we interpret and evaluate these pieces.

Appendix A

Finale zu Orpheus (von Gluck) von Liszt

Cor Anglais

Bassoon

a2

Horn in F

p

Horn in F

p

Trumpet in F

Timpani

p

Violin I

con sord.

p

Violin II

con sord.

p

Viola

con sord.

p

Violoncello

Double Bass

The musical score is for the 'Finale zu Orpheus (von Gluck) von Liszt'. It features a full orchestral ensemble. The instruments listed on the left are Cor Anglais, Bassoon, two Horns in F, Trumpet in F, Timpani, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass. The score is written in common time (C). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The Bassoon part has a dynamic marking of *a2*. The Horns and Timpani have dynamic markings of *p*. The Violins and Viola have dynamic markings of *p* and are marked *con sord.* (con sordina). The Violoncello and Double Bass parts are also present. The score shows a series of measures with various musical notations including rests, notes, and slurs.

6

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

p

Fl.

Ob. *a2*

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

18 *a2*

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

Detailed description: This page of a musical score covers measures 18 through 21. The woodwind section (Flute, Oboe, Cor Anglais, Clarinet, Bassoon) and brass section (Horn I & II, French Trumpet, Timpani) play a complex melodic and harmonic passage. The string section (Violins I & II, Viola, Violoncello, Double Bass) provides a steady accompaniment. The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. Measure 18 is marked with a first ending bracket and a second ending bracket, both labeled 'a2'. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

23 a2

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

p

p

p

26

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

Detailed description: This page of a musical score covers measures 26, 27, and 28. The woodwind section (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in A, Clarinet, Bassoon) plays a melodic line in measure 26, which is then sustained in measures 27 and 28. The brass section (Horn I, Horn II, French Trumpet) provides harmonic support with chords in measures 27 and 28. The percussion section (Timpani) plays a rhythmic pattern. The string section (Violins I and II, Viola, Violoncello, Double Bass) features triplets in measure 26 and sustained notes in measures 27 and 28.

29

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

Detailed description: This page of a musical score covers measures 29, 30, and 31. The woodwind section (Flute, Oboe, Cor Anglais, Clarinet, Bassoon) plays a melodic line in measure 29, which is then sustained in measures 30 and 31. The brass section (Horn I, Horn II, French Trumpet, Timpani) provides harmonic support with chords in measures 30 and 31. The string section (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, Double Bass) features a complex, fast-moving melodic line in Violin I, while the other strings play sustained chords or rhythmic patterns. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

457

458

459

460

44

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

Detailed description: This page of a musical score covers measures 44, 45, and 46. The woodwind section (Flute, Oboe, Cor Anglais, Clarinet, Bassoon) and brass section (Horn I & II, French Trumpet) have parts for all three measures. The string section (Violins I & II, Viola, Violoncello, Double Bass) also has parts. In measure 44, the woodwinds and brass play sustained notes, while the strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. In measure 45, the woodwinds and brass continue their parts, and the strings play a similar rhythmic pattern. In measure 46, the woodwinds and brass play sustained notes, and the strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, beams, and slurs.

47

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

463

53

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

cresc.

cresc.

poco a poco molto cresc.

56

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

f

ff

ff

f

This musical score page contains measures 58, 59, and 60 of a symphony. The instrumentation includes Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet in A (C. A.), Clarinet in Bb (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Horns (Hn.), French Trumpet (F Tpt.), Timpani (Timp.), Violins I and II (Vln. I, Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Double Bass (Db.).

Measure 58 features a melodic line in the Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in A, and Clarinet in Bb, with a Bassoon accompaniment. The Horns and French Trumpet play a sustained chord. The Timpani, Violins I and II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass are silent.

Measure 59 continues the melodic line in the woodwinds, with the Bassoon playing a more active accompaniment. The Horns and French Trumpet remain silent. The Timpani, Violins I and II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass are silent.

Measure 60 features a melodic line in the Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in A, and Clarinet in Bb, with a Bassoon accompaniment. The Horns and French Trumpet play a sustained chord. The Timpani, Violins I and II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass are silent.

59

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

The musical score for measures 59 and 60 features a variety of instruments. The woodwind section includes Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (C. A.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), and Horns (Hn.). The brass section includes a French Trumpet (F Tpt.). The percussion section includes Timpani (Timp.). The string section includes Violins I (Vln. I), Violins II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Double Bass (Db.). The score is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The woodwinds and brass play melodic lines, while the strings provide a harmonic foundation. The percussion section is active in measure 59, with the timpani playing a rhythmic pattern. The strings play a complex, fast-moving melody in measure 59, which continues into measure 60. The woodwinds and brass play a series of chords and melodic fragments in measure 60.

61

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

63

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

B sn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

470

66

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

Detailed description: This page of a musical score covers measures 66, 67, and 68. The woodwind section (Flute, Oboe, Cor Anglais, Clarinet, Bassoon) and brass section (Horn I & II, French Trumpet, Timpani) play chords and single notes, with the French Trumpet and Timpani having longer note values in measure 68. The string section (Violins I & II, Viola, Violoncello, Double Bass) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in measures 66 and 67, followed by sixteenth-note runs in measure 68, all marked with a '6' for a sextuplet. The Viola part has a rest in measure 68.

472

70

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

Detailed description: This page of a musical score contains measures 70 through 74. The instrumentation includes Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (C. A.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Horns (Hn.), French Trumpet (F Tpt.), Timpani (Timp.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Double Bass (Db.). Measures 70-71 show complex woodwind and string textures with many beamed notes and rests. Measures 72-74 feature more sustained textures, with the strings playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, and the woodwinds and brass providing harmonic support. The key signature has one flat, and the time signature is 4/4.

75

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

tr

80

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

tr

tr

Detailed description: This page of a musical score covers measures 80 through 83. The woodwind section (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in A, Clarinet, Bassoon) plays sustained chords in the upper register. The brass section (Horn I & II, French Trumpet) plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Timpani part features two trills marked 'tr'. The string section (Violins I & II, Viola, Violoncello, Double Bass) provides a harmonic foundation with sustained chords and rhythmic patterns. The key signature has one flat, and the time signature is 4/4.

84

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

88

Fl.

Ob.

C. A.

Cl.

Bsn.

Hn.

Hn.

F Tpt.

Timp.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

tr

tr

tr

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar

Bestand Kunst und Wissenschaft

Generalintendanz des Deutschen Nationaltheaters (DNT) Weimar

Hofbehörden

Grossherzoglich Sächs. Hausarchiv

Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar

Signatur 59 (miscellaneous documents relating to Liszt)

Signatur 60 (autograph scores)

Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt, Weimar

DNT 376 (scores from the Weimar Court Theatre)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Hs 107016 (autograph scores)

Franz Liszt Museum, Budapest

Ms. mus.5.6000 (autograph correction sheets)

Books

ABRAHAM, GERALD, *100 Years of Music* 4th edition (Worcester: Duckworth, 1974)

ALTENBURG, DETLEF (ed.), *Liszt und die Weimarer Klassik* (Regensburg: Laaber, 1997).

ALTMANN, WILHELM (ed.), *Letters of Richard Wagner* (London: Dent, 1927)

ARNOLD, BEN (ed.), *The Liszt Companion* (Westport Conn.; London: Greenwood, 2002).

AURNHAMMER, ACHIM (ed.), *Torquato Tasso in Deutschland: Seine Wirkung in Literatur, Kunst und Musik seit der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995)

BAILEY, HELEN PHELPS, *Hamlet in France: from Voltaire to Laforgue* (Switzerland: Librairie Droz, 1964).

BARTELS, ADOLF, *Chronik des Weimarer Hoftheaters 1817-1907* (Weimar, 1908).

BARZUN, JACQUES MARTIN, *Berlioz and the Romantic Century* Vol. 1 (3rd Edition, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969).

BEER, AXEL, PFARR KRISTINA, RUF, WOLFGANG (eds), *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling zum 65. Geburtstag* 2 vols (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997).

BELLAS, JACQUELINE and GUT, SERGE (eds), *Correspondance Franz Liszt Marie d'Agoult* (Paris: Fayard, 2001).

BERLIOZ, HECTOR, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. David Cairns (London: Gollancz, 1969).

BERLIOZ, HECTOR, *Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration* (Paris: Henry Lemoine)

BERNHARDI, THEODOR VON, *Aus dem Leben Theodor von Bernhardis*, Vol. ii: 'Briefe und Tagebuchblätter aus den Jahren 1834-1857', (Leipzig Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1899)

BLACKMAN, ROBERT D. (ed.), *Voice, Speech and Gesture: A Practical Handbook to the Elocutionary Art* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1908)

BLOOM, PETER (ed.), *Music in Paris in the 1830s* (New York: Stuyvesant, 1987)

BLOOM, PETER (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

BOWEN, JOSÉ ANTONIO (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

BROOKS, CHARLES T. (ed.), *Schiller's Homage of the Arts with Miscellaneous Pieces from Rückert, Freiligrath, and other German Poets* (New York: James Miller Publisher, 1846)

BROOKS, PETER, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995)

BÜLOW, HANS VON, *The Early Correspondence*, ed. his widow, trans. Constance Bache (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896)

BÜLOW, MARIE VON (ed.), *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften* 6 Vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895-1907)

BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, *Lord Byron: Everyman's Poetry Series* ed. Jane Stabler (J.M. Dent: London, 1997)

CAIRNS, DAVID, *Berlioz: 1803-1832: The Making of an Artist* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1989).

CARNEGIE, PARTICK, *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre* (New Haven, Connecticut; London: Yale University Press, 2006).

COOPER, BARRY, *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990)

CORNELIUS, PETER, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag, 1938).

DAHLHAUS, CARL, *Nineteenth-Century Music* trans. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and London, University of California Press, 1989)

DARCY, WARREN, and HEPOKOSKI, JAMES, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

DAHLHAUS, CARL, *Nineteenth-Century Music* trans. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and London, University of California Press, 1989)

DEAVILLE, JAMES; SAFFLE, MICHAEL and WALKER, ALAN, *New Light on Liszt and his Music* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997).

DELABASTITA, DIRK, *There's a Double Tongue: An Investigation into the Translation of Shakespeare's Wordplay with Special Reference to Hamlet* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1993)

DELABASTITA, DIRK and HULST, LIEVEN D' (eds.), *European Shakespeares: Translating Shakespeare in the Romantic Age* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993).

DEVRIENT, EDUARD, *Aus seinen Tagebüchern*, ed. Rolf Kabel (Weimar, 1964).

DONOVAN, SIOBHÁN and ELLIOTT, ROBIN, *Music and Literature in German Romanticism* (New York and Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2004)

DOWD, GARIN, STRONG, JEREMY, and STEVENSON, LESLEY, *Genre Matters: Essays in Theory and Criticism* (Bristol and Portland: Intellect, 2006)

DRAESEKE, FELIX, *Schriften 1855-1861* ed. Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff and Helmut Loos (Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1987)

DUBROW, HEATHER, *Genre* (London: Methuen, 1982)

DUFETEL, NICOLAS, HAINE, MALOU, AND POCKNELL, PAULINE (eds), *Lettres de Franz Liszt À la Princesse Marie de Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst Née de Sayn-Wittgenstein* (Paris: Vrin, 2010)

- ECKHARDT, MÁRIA, *Franz Liszt's Music Manuscripts in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest*, trans. Erzsébet Mészáros (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986).
- ECKHARDT, MARIA and LIEPSCH, EVELYN, *Franz Liszts Weimarer Bibliothek* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1999).
- ECKHARDT, MARIA and MUELLER, RENA, 'Liszt, Franz: Works', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xiv: 833.
- EIGELDINGER, JEAN-JACQUES, *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- ENGEL, JOHANN JACOB, *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action adapted to The English Drama*, trans. Henry Siddons 2nd ed. (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1822)
- FREEDMAN, AVIVA, and MEDWAY, PETER (eds), *Genre and the New Rhetoric* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994)
- FREYTAG, GUSTAV, essay on Dawison in *Aufsätze zur Geshichte, Literatur, und Kunst*, Vol. 8 of first series of *Gesammelte Werke* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1920).
- FROW, JOHN, *Genre* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006)
- FRYE, NORTHROP, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971)
- GENAST, EDUARD, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Robert Lutz, 1904).
- GERVINUS, G. G., *Shakespeare Commentaries*, trans. F. E. Bunnett, 2 Vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1863).
- GIBBS, CHRISTOPHER H., and GOOLEY, DANA (eds), *Franz Liszt and his World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- von GOETHE, J. W., *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (The Harvard Classics Shelf of Fiction, 1917).
- GÖLLERICH, AUGUST, *Franz Liszt* (Berlin: Marquardt & Co., 1908)
- GÖLLERICH, AUGUST, *The Piano Master Classes of Franz Liszt 1884-1886* ed. Wilhelm Jerger, trans. Richard Louis Zimdars (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996)
- GOOLEY, DANA, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- GOTTSCHALG, A. W., *Franz Liszt in Weimar und seine letzten Lebensjahre* (Berlin: pub. unknown, 1910)
- GREY, THOMAS S. (ed.), *Richard Wagner and his World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- GROUT, DONALD, *A Short History of Opera* 3rd Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).
- HAMBURGER, KLÁRA (ed.), *Franz Liszt Briefwechsel mit seiner Mutter* (Eisenstadt, 2000).
- HAMBURGER, KLÁRA, *Liszt* (Gondolat, Budapest, 1980).
- HAMBURGER, MAIK, and WILLIAMS, SIMON (eds), *A History of German Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- HAMILTON, KENNETH, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- HAMILTON, KENNETH, *Liszt: Sonata in B minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- HAMILTON, KENNETH (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

- HANSLICK, EDUARD, *Hanslick's Music Criticisms* trans. Henry Pleasants (New York: Dover Publications, 1988).
- HANSLICK, EDUARD, *On the Musically Beautiful*, trans. Geoffrey Payzant (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1986).
- HASE, OSKAR von, *Breitkopf & Härtel Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht* Vol. 2: 1828 bis 1918 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919)
- HAYMAN, RONALD (ed.), *The German Theatre: A Symposium* (London: Wolff; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975)
- HAYS, MICHAEL AND NIKOLOPOULOU, ANASTASIA (eds) *Melodrama: the Cultural Emergence of a Literary Genre* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).
- HEPOKOSKI, JAMES, *Sibelius Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- HEILMAN, ROBERT BECHTOLD, *Tragedy and Melodrama* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1968)
- HIBBERD, SARAH and PRIMMER, BRIAN, 'Chelard, Hippolyte-André (-Jean)-Baptiste' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. 5 of 29 (2nd edn, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 559-60.
- HIBBERD, SARAH (ed.) *Melodramatic Voices: Understanding Music Drama* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011)
- HILLER, FERDINAND, *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit: Gelegentliches von Ferdinand Hiller* Vol. 1 (Hermann Mendelssohn, 1868)
- HOENSELAARS, A.J and PUJANTE, ANGEL-LUIS (eds.) *Four Hundred Years of Shakespeare in Europe* (Newark, New Jersey: University of Delaware Press, 2003).
- HOLOMAN, D. KERN (ed.), *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997).
- HOWARD, PATRICIA, *Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963)
- HUEFFER, FRANCIS, *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt* (Cirencester: The Echo Library, 2005).
- HUGO, HOWARD E. (ed.), *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Marie zu Sayn-Wittgenstein* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953)
- HUGO, VICTOR, *Cromwell* (Paris: Ambroise Dupont et Cie, 1828).
- HUNEKER, JAMES, *Franz Liszt* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1911).
- HURÉ, PIERRE-ANTOINE et KNEPPER, CLAUDE (eds), *Correspondance, Lettres choisies, présentées et annotées* (Paris: J. C. Lattès, 1987).
- HUSCHKE, WOLFRAM, *Franz Liszt: Wirken und Wirkungen in Weimar* (Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft, 2010)
- HUSCHKE, WOLFRAM, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar, 1756-1861* (Weimar, 1982).
- JACKSON, RUSSELL and BATE, JONATHAN (eds), *Shakespeare: an illustrated stage history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- JENA, DETLEF, *Maria Pawlowna: Großherzogin an Weimars Musenhof* (Graz; Vienna; Cologne: Verlag Styria, 1999)
- JOHNS, KEITH T., *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997).
- KAPP, JULIUS, *Franz Liszt* 3rd edition (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster and Loeffler, 1911)
- KENNEDY, DENNIS (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Theatre and Performance*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

- KESTING, HANJO (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Richard Wagner Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1988)
- KOLLEK, PETER, *Bogumil Dawison: Porträt und Deutung eines genialen Schauspielers* (Kastellaun, Henn, 1978).
- KREGOR, JONATHAN, *Liszt as Transcriber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- KUJAWI S KA-COURTNEY, KRYSTYNA and MERCER, JOHN MOORE, *The Globalization of Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).
- KÜRSCHNER, JOSEPH, 'Bogumil Dawison' *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, <http://mdz10.bib-bvb.de/~db/bsb00008362/images/index.html?id=00008362&fip=88.107.233.119&no=&seite=790>, accessed 10 August 2009.
- LA MARA, *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, 3 Vols. (Leipzig, 1895, 1904).
- LA MARA, *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander, Großherzog von Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1909).
- LA MARA, *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Hans von Bülow* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1898).
- LA MARA, *Franz Liszts Briefe* 8 Vols. (Leipzig, 1893-1905).
- LA MARA, *Letters of Liszt*, trans. Constance Bache 2 Vols (London, 1894).
- LISZT, FRANZ, 'Berlioz and his "Harold" Symphony', in *Source Readings in Music History* Vol. 5 ed. Oliver Strunk (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1965)
- LISZT, FRANZ, 'Hektor Berlioz und seine Harold-Symphonie' ed. Lina Ramann in *Sammlung Musikalischer Vorträge* Vol. 3 ed. Paul Graf Waldersee (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881), 319-405.
- LISZT, FRANZ, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 6 Vols., ed. Lina Ramann (Vol. 1 ed. La Mara) (Leipzig 1880-1883).
- LISZT, FRANZ, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 9 Vols., ed. Detlef Altenberg (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989-present).
- MACDONALD, HUGH, *Beethoven's Century* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008)
- MERBACH, PAUL ALFRED, *Heinrich Marr 1797-1871: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Theaters im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Verlag von Leopold Voss, 1926)
- MARCOUX, J. PAUL, *Guilbert de Pixérécourt: French melodrama in the early nineteenth century* (New York: P. Lang, 1992).
- MASON, WILLIAM, *Memories of a Musical Life* (New York, 1901)
- MATTHEWS, DENIS, *Beethoven Master Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- MILLINGTON, BARRY, *The New Grove Wagner* (London: Macmillan Reference, 2002)
- MÖLLER-CHRISTENSEN, ERNST and MÖLLER-CHRISTENSEN, IVY YORK, *Mein edler, theurer Großherzog! Briefwechsel zwischen Hans Christian Andersen und Großherzog Carl Alexander von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998)
- NEWMAN, ERNEST, *The man Liszt: a study of the tragi-comedy of a soul divided against itself* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969).
- NEWMAN, WILLIAM, *The Sonata Since Beethoven* (University of North Carolina Press, 1969)

- OLLIVIER, DANIEL (ed.), *Correspondance de Liszt et de la Comtesse d'Agoult* (Paris, 1933-4)
- OSNES, BETH, *Acting: An Encyclopaedia of Traditional Culture* (ABC-CLIO, 2001)
- OSTWALD, PETER F., Ostwald, *Schumann: the Inner Voices of a Musical Genius* (Massachusetts: Northeastern University Press, 1985)
- PASLER, JANN, *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- PAULIN, ROGER, *The Critical Reception of Shakespeare in Germany 1682-1914* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2003).
- PEMBLE, JOHN, *Shakespeare Goes to Paris: How the Bard Conquered France* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005).
- PERÉNYI, ELEANOR, *Liszt: The Artist as Romantic Hero* (S.I.: Little Brown and Company, 1974).
- PHELAN, JAMES and RABINOWITZ, PETER J., *A Companion to Narrative Theory* (Massachusetts, Oxford, and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005).
- PLANTINGA, LEON, *Romantic Music: a History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984)
- POCKNELL, PAULINE (ed.), *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: a Correspondence* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1999).
- POHL, RICHARD, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* Vol. 2: Franz Liszt Studien und Erinnerungen (Leipzig: Bernhard Schlicke, 1883).
- POOLE, ADRIAN (ed.), *Great Shakespearians: Scott, Dickens, Elliot, Hardy* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011)
- RAABE, PETER, *Franz Liszt* Vols 1: Liszts Leben and 2: Liszts Schaffen (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968)
- RAMANN, LINA, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Vols 1 and 2 (Leipzig, 1880-94).
- RAMANN, LINA (ed.) *Franz Liszts gesammelte Schriften* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1880-83)
- RAMANN, LINA, *Franz Liszt: Artist and Man, 1811-1840* Vol.1, trans. E. Cowdery (London: Allen, 1882).
- RAMANN, LINA, *Lisztiana* (Mainz: Schott, 1983).
- REDMOND, JAMES (ed.), *Melodrama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- REYNOLDS, CHRISTOPHER ALAN, *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2003)
- ROBINSON, PAUL, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- ROSEN, CHARLES, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1976)
- ROSENBERG, MARVIN, *The Masks of Hamlet* (Newark; London: University of Delaware Press; Associated University Presses, 1992)
- RUSHTON, JULIAN, *Berlioz: Roméo et Juliette* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- SAFFLE, MICHAEL, *A Guide to Research* (2nd edn, New York: Routledge, 2004).
- SAFFLE, MICHAEL (ed.), *Liszt and His World* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1998).
- SAFFLE, MICHAEL, 'Liszt's use of Sonata Form: the Case of *Festklänge*' in *Liszt 2000 Selected Lectures Given at the International Liszt Conference in Budapest* (Budapest: Hungarian Liszt Society, 2000)

- SAMSON, JIM, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- SAVAGE, ROGER, 'Incidental Music' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols (2nd edn, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), xii, 142.
- SCHIMPF, WOLFGANG, *Lyrisches theater: das Melodrama des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988).
- SCHOELL, ADOLF, *Prolog und Epilog zum Festspiel: Die Huldigung der Künste* (Weimar, 1854)
- von SCHORN, ADELHEID, *Das nachklassische Weimar unter der Regierungszeit Karl Friedrichs und Maria Paulownas* (Weimar, 1911-12).
- SCHRIKEL, LEONHARD, *Geschichte des Weimarer Theaters von seinen Anfängen bis heute* (Weimar, 1928).
- SCHRÖTER, AXEL, *Der historische Notenbestand des Deutschen Nationaltheaters Weimar* (Katalog Studio Verlag, 2010)
- SCHUMANN, ROBERT, *Music and Musicians*, trans. F. Ritter (London, 1878)
- SEARLE, HUMPHREY, *The Music of Liszt* (2nd edn, New York: Dover Publications, 1966).
- SEIBOLD, WOLFGANG, *Robert und Clara Schumann in ihren Beziehungen zu Franz Liszt: im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenz und Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main; Oxford: P. Lange, 2005)
- SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM, *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, and David Scott Kastan (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998).
- SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM, *The Arden Shakespeare, Hamlet The Texts of 1603 and 1623*, Ann Thomson and Neil Taylor (eds) (London: Thomson Learning, 2006).
- SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM, *Hamlet*, trans. Le Tourneur (Paris, 1881).
- SINGER, BEN, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001)
- SLY, GORDON (ed.), *Keys to the Drama: Nine Perspectives on Sonata Forms* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009)
- STYAN, J. L., *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice 1: Realism and Naturalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- SUPPAN, WOLFGANG (ed.), *Liszt Studien I* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1977)
- SUTTONI, CHARLES (ed.), *Liszt, An Artist's Journey. Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique 1835-41: Franz Liszt* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- TAYLOR, PHILIP, *Anton Rubinstein: a Life in Music* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2007)
- TEMPERLEY, NICHOLAS, 'Overture' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols (2nd edn, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), xviii, 824-6.
- TYSON, ALAN (ed.), *Beethoven Studies 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- VEEN, J. Van der, *Le Melodrame Musical de Rousseau au Romantisme: Ses Aspects Historiques et Stylistiques* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955)
- VOSTEEN, ANNETTE, 'Chelard, André Hippolyte (Jean Baptiste)' in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher 2nd ed. Vol. 4 (Personenteil) of 21 (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1994-)

- WAEBER, JACQUELINE, *En musique dans le texte; le melodrama, de Rousseau à Schoenberg* (Paris: Van Dieren Éditeur, 2005).
- WAGNER, COSIMA, *Diaries*, Vols. 1 and 2, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton (Collins: St James's Place, London, 1978-1980).
- WAGNER, RICHARD, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (Leipzig, 1888)
- WAGNER, RICHARD, *My Life*, trans. Andrew Gray, ed. Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- WAGNER, RICHARD, *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* Vol. 3, trans. Williams Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894).
- WALKER, ALAN, *Franz Liszt* Vol. 1: *The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847* (Rev. edn, London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1989). Vol. 2: *The Weimar Years* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1989). Vol. 3: *The Final Years* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1997).
- WALKER, ALAN, 'Liszt' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (2nd edn, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), xiv. 755-877.
- WALKER, ALAN, *Liszt, Carlyle, and the Vatican: the Story of a Thwarted Marriage* ed. and trans. Gabriele Erasmi (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991)
- WARRACK, JOHN, *Carl Maria von Weber* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976)
- WATSON, DEREK, *Liszt* (The Master Musicians, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- WEST, SHEARER, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991)
- WILLIAMS, ADRIAN (ed.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- WILLIAMS, ADRIAN (ed.), *Portrait of Liszt By Himself and His Contemporaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- WILLIAMS, SIMON, *German Actors of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: idealism, romanticism and realism* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood, 1985)
- WILLIAMS, SIMON, *Shakespeare on the German Stage* Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- WINKLER, G. J., "'Tradition' and 'Progress': Liszt's First Melodrama *Lenore*" in *Liszt the Progressive* in the Studies in the History and Interpretation of Music Series ed. Hans Kagebeck and Johan Lagerfelt (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001).
- WINKLHOFER, SHARON, *Liszt's Sonata in B minor: a Study of Autograph Sources and Documents* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1978)
- von WURZBACH, ALFRED, *Bogumil Dawison* (Wien: A. Hartleben, 1871).
- ZENGER, MAX, *Geschichte Münchner Oper* ed. Theodor Kroyer (Munich, 1923)

Articles

- BAUER, MARION, 'The Literary Liszt', *The Musical Quarterly*, 22 (1936), 295-313.
- BERGER, CHRISTIAN, 'Die Musik der Zukunft: Franz Liszts Symphonische Dichtung *Die Ideale*', *Liszt-Jahrbuch* 1 (1994), 101-14
- BERTAGNOLLI, PAUL A., 'Amanuensis or Author? The Liszt-Raff Collaboration Revisited', *19th Century Music*, 26 (2002), 23-51.
- BERTAGNOLLI, PAUL A., 'A Newly Discovered Source for Franz Liszts "Chore zu Herder's 'Entfesseltem Prometheus'"', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter, 2002), 125-170.

- BONNER, ANDREW, 'Liszt's *Les Préludes* and *Les Quatre Éléments*: A Reinvestigation', *19th Century Music*, 10 (1986), 95-107.
- CALHOUN, MARTHA, 'Music as Subversive Text: Beethoven, Goethe and the Overture to *Egmont*', *Mosaic* 20:1 (1987), 43-54
- CELENZA, ANNA HARWELL, 'The Poet, the Pianist, and the Patron: Hans Christian Andersen and Franz Liszt in Carl Alexander's Weimar' *19th-Century Music* Vol. 26, No. 2 (2002), 130-154.
- CORMAC, JOANNE, 'Liszt, Language and Identity: a Multi-National Chameleon', *19th-Century Music*, forthcoming 2012/13
- DEAVILLE, JAMES, 'Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius, and Early Musicology', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 21:1 (2002), 73-97.
- DEVRIENT, EDUARD, 'Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Eduard Devrients über Darstellungen Shakespearescher Rollen: Karl Seydelmann als Shylock; Bogumil Dawison als Hamlet', *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 68 (1932), 140-146.
- DRAESEKE, FELIX, 'Liszts Dante-Symphonie', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 53 (1860), 193-96; 201-04, 213-15 and 221-23.
- ELLIOTT, JOHN R., JR., 'The Shakespeare Berlioz Saw', *Music and Letters*, 57:3 (1976), 292-308.
- GOOLEY, DANA, 'Warhorses: Liszt, Weber's *Konzertstück*, and the Cult of Napoléon', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 24 (2000), 62-88
- GOTTWALD, CLYTUS, 'Die Liszt-Autographe des Germanisches Nationalmuseums in Nürnberg', *Die Musikforschung*, 35 (1982), 166-172.
- GRAZIA, DONNA M. DI, 'Liszt and Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein: New Documents on the Wedding that Wasn't', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 12, No. 2 (1988), 148-162.
- GROVE, GEORGE, 'Mendelssohn's Overture to A Midsummer Night's Dream', *The Musical Times* Vol. 44, No. 729 (1903), 728-738.
- HAMILTON, KENNETH, 'Not with a bang, but a whimper: The death of Liszt's *Sardanapale*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8, 1 (1996), 45-58
- HARASZTI, ÉMILE, 'Genèse des préludes de Liszt qui n'ont aucun rapport avec Lamartine', *Revue de Musicologie*, 35, No. 107e/108e (1953), 111-140.
- HEAD, MATTHEW, 'Beethoven Heroine: A Female Allegory of Music and Authorship in *Egmont*', *19th-Century Music*, 30 (2006), 97-132.
- HOWARD, PATRICIA, 'Orfeo and Orphée', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 108, No. 1496 (1967), 892-895.
- HYLAND, ANNE M., 'Rhetorical Closure in the First Movement of Schubert's Quartet in C Major, D. 46: a Dialogue with Deformation', *Music Analysis*, 28/i (2009), 111-142
- KAPLAN, RICHARD, 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt: The Revolutionary Reconsidered', *19th Century Music*, 8 (1984), 142-52.
- KEILER, ALLAN, 'Liszt and the Weimar Hoftheater', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* Vol. 28 (1986), 431-450.
- KNETSCHKE, EMIL, 'Bogumil Dawison', *Deutsche Schaubühne*, 6 (1861), 58.
- KRUSE, G. R., *August Conradi. Ein Gedenkbl.*, in *Die Musik* 12 (1912/13), 3-13
- LANGFORD, JEFFREY A., 'The "Dramatic Symphonies" of Berlioz as an Outgrowth of the French Operatic Tradition', *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983), 85-103
- MAIN, ALEXANDER, 'Liszt after Lamartine: *Les Préludes*', *Music and Letters*, 60 (1979), 133-48.
- MAK, SU YIN, 'Schubert's Sonata Forms and the Poetics of the Lyric', *The Journal of Musicology* Vol. 23, No. 2 (2006), 263-306

- MARVIN, WILLIAM, 'Mahler's Third Symphony and the Dismantling of Sonata Form', in *Keys to the Drama: Nine Perspectives on Sonata Forms* ed. Gordon Sly (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 53-71.
- MERRICK, PAUL, 'Le chasseur maudit. Key and Content in Liszt's Music in C Minor', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 44, 3/4 (2003), 321-336
- MICZNIK, VERA, 'The Absolute Limitations of Programme Music: The Case of Liszt's "Die Ideale"', *Music and Letters*, 80 (1999), 207-40.
- MOORTELE, STEVEN VANDE, 'Beyond Sonata Deformation: Liszt's Symphonic Poem *Tasso* and the Concept of 2-Dimensional Sonata Form', *Current Musicology*, No. 86 (2008), 41-62.
- MOORTELE, STEVEN VANDE, 'Form, Program, and Deformation in Liszt's *Hamlet*', *Tijdschrift Voor Muziektheorie*, 11 (2006), 71-82.
- MUELLER, RENA, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Chronology', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 28, 1/4 (1986), 273-293.
- MUELLER, RENA, 'Reevaluating the Liszt Chronology: the Case of "Anfangs wollt ich fast verzagen"', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 12, No. 2 (1988), 132-147
- MURPHY, EDWARD W., 'A Detailed Program for Liszt's *Hamlet*', *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, 29 (1991), 42-60.
- NATTIEZ, J-J., 'Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 115 (1990), 240-57.
- RAFF, HELENE, 'Franz Liszt und Joachim Raff Im Spiegel ihrer Briefe' in *Die Musik* I. 15/16 (May 1902)
- REHDING, ALEXANDER, 'Liszt's Musical Monuments', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer 2002), 52-72
- SEARLE, HUMPHREY, 'Liszt's "Don Sanche"', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 118, No. 1616 (1977), 815-17.
- SHAPIRO, ANN DHU, 'Action Music in American Pantomime and Melodrama, 1730-1913', *American Music*, 2/4 (1984), 49-72.
- TODD, R. LARRY, 'The "Unwelcome Guest" Regaled: Franz Liszt and the Augmented Triad', *19th Century Music*, 12 (1988), 93-115.
- TRIPPETT, DAVID, 'Après une Lecture de Liszt: Virtuosity and Werktreue in the "Dante" Sonata', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 32, No. 1 (2008), 52-93.
- TRIPPETT, DAVID, 'Bayeuth in Miniature: Wagner and the Melodramatic Voice', *The Musical Quarterly*, 95 (1) (2012), 71-138
- TUNBRIDGE, LAURA, 'Schumann's *Manfred* in the Mental Theatre', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 15/2 (2003), 153-183.
- WANG, DAN, 'Melodrama, Two Ways', *19th-Century Music* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2012), 122-135.
- WILLIAMSON, JOHN, 'The Revision of Liszt's "Prometheus"', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), 381-390.
- WILSON KIMBER, MARIAN, 'Reading Shakespeare, Seeing Mendelssohn: Concert Readings of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ca. 1850-1920', *The Musical Quarterly*, 89 (2006), 199-236.
- WINGFIELD, PAUL, 'Beyond "Norms and Deformations": Towards a Theory of Sonata Form as Reception Theory', *Music Analysis*, 27/i (2008), 137-77.

Doctoral Dissertations

- BERTAGNOLLI, PAUL A. 'From overture to symphonic poem, from melodrama to choral cantata: Studies of the sources for Franz Liszt's "Prometheus" and his "Chore zu Herder's 'Entfesseltem Prometheus'"', Ph.D. diss. (Washington University, 1998).
- MUELLER, RENA CHARNIN, 'Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Revisions', Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1986).
- RAABE, Peter, 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte der ersten Orchesterwerke Franz Liszts', Ph.D. diss. (University of Jena, 1916)
- ROENNEKE, RUDOLF, *Franz Dingelstedts Wirksamkeit am Weimarer Hoftheater: ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, PhD diss. (Greifswald University, 1912)

Newspapers/Periodicals

Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung
Allgemeine Theater-Chronik
Berliner Musikalische Zeitung
Berliner Musikzeitung Echo
Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik
Kölnische Zeitung
Neue Berliner Musikzeitung
Signale für die musikalische Welt
Süddeutsche Musik-Zeitung
Weimarische Zeitung

Websites

<http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ThHStAW/content/main/search-playbill.xml>